

POLISH FRANKISM'S DURATION

From Cabbalistic Judaism to Roman Catholicism and from
Jewishness to Polishness

A Preliminary Investigation

BY ABRAHAM G. DUKER

This is an attempt to reconstruct in part the journey of the Polish followers of the false messiah Jacob Frank (d. 1791) away from the extremist Cabbalistic Judaism of the "Higher Torah" into the Roman Catholic Church and Polish belongingness, some generations after their insincere baptism at the end of the 1750's.¹ Particular attention will be given to a famous branch of the Frankist large Wolowski clan, namely, the family of Maria Wolowska Szymanowska,² the first Frankist musical artiste of note whose daughter, Celina, was married to Poland's outstanding poet, Adam Mickiewicz. More on this subject anon.³

¹ On Frank and Frankism, see Kraushar, Alexander, *Frank i Frankisci polscy, 1726-1816* (Frank and the Polish Frankists, 1726-1816) (Cracow 1895), [-FFP], 2 vols.; Kahana, David, *Toldoth ha-mekubalim ha-shabbetaim v'he-hassidim* (History of the Cabbalists, Sabbataians and Hassidim), ed. 3, vol. ii. (Tel Aviv 1927), pp. 64-88, and addenda; Balaban, Meir (Majer), *Toldoth ha-tenua ha-frankit* (History of the Frankist Movement) (Tel Aviv 1934-35) 2 vols; Brawer, Abraham Jacob, "A New Hebrew Source on the History of Frank and His Sect," *Ha-shiloach* (Siloah) vol. xxxiii (1917), pp. 146-56, 330-42, 439-448; vol. xxxviii (1921), pp. 16-21, 231-38, 349-54, 446-57. It is a description of Dov Birkenenthal's unpublished *Divrei binah*.

Cf. also Zinberg, Israel, *Di Geshichte fun der literatur bei jidn* (History of Literature among Jews), vol. vii, book 2 (Wilno 1936), pp. 9-37, and Hebrew translation *Toldot sifrut Yisrael* (History of the Literature of Israel), vol. v, book 10 (Tel Aviv 1959), pp. 147-61; Scholem, Gershom, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York 1946), *passim*; his "Mitzvah ha-baah be-avera . . ." (A Commandment through Sin), in *Kneseth. Divrei sopherim l'zekher H. N. Bialik* (Knesseth. Works of Writers in Memory of H. N. Bialik) ["Mitzvah"], vol. ii (Tel Aviv 1937), pp. 347-92; *idem*, "The Sabbataian Movement in Poland," *Beith Yisrael b'Polin* (The House of Israel in Poland) [-BIP], vol. ii (Jerusalem 1954), pp. 36-76; Jeske-Choinski, Teodor, *Neofici polscy, materialy historyczne* (Polish Neophytes. Historical Materials) [-NP] (Warsaw 1904); Mieses, Mateusz, *Polacy chrzescijanie pochodzenia zydowskiego* (Christian Poles of Jewish Descent) [-PCPZ] (Lwow 1939), 2 vols.; Bychowski, Z., "Frank and His Sect in the Light of Psychiatry; An Attempt," *Ha-tekufah* (The Period), vol. xiv-xv (1923), pp. 703-20. For some other abbreviations, see n. 28.

Bibliographical data on the "epilogue of Frankism" are contained as Supplement II to Dubnow, Simon, *Weltgeschichte des juedischen Volkes*, vol. viii (Berlin 1929), and Yiddish translation, *Di Veltgeshikhte fun jidishn folk* . . . (Buenos Aires 1954). They are not up-to-date.

The present study is based in part on a chapter of an unpublished book, *Mickiewicz's Jewish Mystique* and partly also on my doctoral dissertation, prepared under Prof. Salo W. Baron at Columbia University, "The Polish 'Great Emigration' and the Jews. Studies in Political and Intellectual History" [-"GE"] Publication 1627, Dissertation Series, 1956, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich.

² Cf. pp. 317ff.

³ Cf. pp. 322ff.

Kraushar on the Frankist Sect's Duration

Alexander Kraushar,⁴ author of the basic history of this movement, stated in 1895 that "the sect could exist only as long as the proselytes who had faith in it used to send barrels of gold for its maintenance," and that "with the drying out of this source, Frankism stopped existing forever." He also argued that with the death of Frank's daughter Eva (Ewa) in 1816 "the delusions and dreams of the followers of Frankism were finally shattered." He continues in his introduction:

The descendants of the first followers of the "Master", having become real and faithful Christians and citizens of their country, already in the second generation severed all threads of tradition of the precepts of the agitator, and today, after the extinction of more than five generations, their great-grandchildren have nothing in common and wish to have nothing in common with their historical past.

The historian of Frankism dare not ignore this phenomenon. If he desires to take his stand on the basis of objective truth, he must avoid all designs to deal with this subject in a tendentious manner and not to make attempts at a fruitless complication of events, already finally closed and finished into the ferment of the present.⁵

A similar desire to bury the corpse is also evinced on the part of a small-town non-baptized Frankist in 1857, who reported that after Eva's death "the Sect was forgotten and no memory of it remains on earth."⁶

In 1945, Aescoly (Weintraub) similarly wrote that soon after her death "the Frankist traditions disappeared gradually among the families of the converts in Poland."⁷ Kraushar's view generally prevailed.⁸ In his desire to minimize the move-

⁴ Cf. Shatzky, Jacob, "Alexander Kraushar and His Road to Total Assimilation" ["Kraushar"], *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. vii (1952), pp. 146-47 (originally published in *Yivo bletter*, vol. xxii (1943). Cf. also Brawer, *op. cit.*, *Ha-shiloach*, vol. xiii (1917), pp. 147-48; *PCPZ*, vol. ii, pp. 12-18.

⁵ *FFP*, vol. i, pp. 31-32.

⁶ Rabin, S., "History of the Wondrous Impostor Jacob Frank," *Yeda am*, vol. v, no. 1-2 (21-22) (1959), pp. 50-56. The 1857 manuscript is obviously the product of a sympathizer, as the editor states.

⁷ Aescoly, A. Z., "Jacob Frank's Sons, the False Messiah and the French Revolution," *Ha-doar* (The Post), vol. xxiv (Sept. 7, 1945), p. 830.

⁸ This is seen in the Sect's treatment in Polish encyclopedias. For instance, *Encyklopedia powszechna ultima thule* (General Encyclopedia Ultima Thule), vol. iii, (Warsaw 1930) p. 682, states that "after the death of Eva in 1816 the mystification ended. The Polish Frankists, very rich people, later made connections with many houses of the Polish *szlachta* (nobility), contributing to these houses drops of Jewish blood. The families Wolowski, Krysinski, Mlodowski, and others stem from the Frankists." In the Gutenberg *Wielka ilustrowana encyklopedia powszechna* (Great Illustrated General Encyclopedia), vol. v (Krakow 1930), p. 537, the statement is made that "the Frankist sect in Poland enjoyed many considerations of Polish society. Almost all the neophytes received Polish names, many were granted nobility. In time they became completely assimilated." In contrast to Julijan Bartoszewicz's article in the first 1862 edition of Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedia powszechna* (General Encyclopedia) (vol. ix, p. 268 ca.), which touches on the Sect's continuity (and to which I had no access recently), the 1899 edition contains no information on this subject (vol v, p. 537). Even the rabid antisemite Antoni [-Anton von] Marylski in his racist "History of the Jewish Question in Poland" agrees on the early absorption of the Frankists. He points out that Frank was forced into conversion, imitating Sabbatai Zevi and that "out of the disintegrating sect a certain small part has been permeated with the principles of the Christian faith and since 150 years ago drowned in the sea of Polish life. The other larger part clung to Judaism and was drawn into the ranks of the Hassidim." Cf. his *Dzieje sprawy zydowskiej w Polsce* (Warsaw 1912), p. 124 and *Geschichte der Judenfrage in Polen*. Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von J. T. J. (Berlin 1918), p. 152.

Generally, Jewish historians have not paid much attention to the problem of the Sect's continuity. However, space does not permit treatment of this aspect.

ment's importance and under the pressure of fully Polonized and at least ostensibly "truly" Catholic descendants of Frankists, Kraushar forgot his own statement that as late as 1838 some sectaries, resident in Offenbach, continued to take care of their leader's grave.⁹

Attempts of the Sect's leaders in the 1820's or 1830's or both to collect documents and mementos from their followers have been cited as proof of its liquidation.¹⁰ Zalman Rubashov (Shazar, Israel's third president) reported that a certain Kaplinski of Warsaw had called a Frankist "congress" in Karlsbad in 1823. However, few adherents turned up.¹¹ Evidently, a general staff continued to exist after Eve's death. However, it is hardly likely that it existed only for the purpose of liquidating the Sect.

Kraushar failed to consider the possible emergence of splinter groups, with different spans of continuity. Even in Frank's lifetime there were disagreements between him and some sectaries who had favored more Jewish practices and identification,¹² following the precedents of the Turkish Doenmeh, the Sabbataian converts to Islam, who have continued some Jewish observances well until the middle of the present century.¹³ Kraushar surmised that German Sabbataian influences, resented by Frank, had brought about the Sect's decomposition. In 1776 the disenchanted Frankist, Jakob Golinski, exposed the Sect's spurious Catholicism.¹⁴

Most Frankists in Moravia and Germany and possibly also in Poland remained officially Jews.¹⁵ As the baptized Frankists and their descendants became

⁹ *FFP*, vol. ii, p. 247.

¹⁰ Cf. Gelber, as in n. 15. Scholem similarly quotes Fritz Mauthner's memoirs that emissaries collected writings and Eva Frank's picture from his grand-parents in the 1820's and 1830's. ("Mitzvah," p. 348; "Will," as in n. 15, p. 198).

¹¹ *Al tilei beit Frank* (On the Ruins of Frank's House) (Leipzig 1923), p. 22.

One Jakob Kapliński was dispatched by Frank on a mission to Istanbul in December 1774. He went there again after his arrival from Warsaw to Brno, January 7, 1777 (*FFP*, vol. ii, pp. 11, 33). It may have been his son, who was blessed as "the young little Turk" by Frank before his death (*ibid.*, p. 129) who called the "convention."

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 44-45, 61, 67-69, 109.

¹³ On the Doenmeh, see Scholem, "Die krypto-juedische Sekte der Doenme in der Tuerkei," *Numen*, vol. vii (1960), pp. 93-123, which contains a bibliographical summary; his "The Sprouting of the Horn of the Son of David, a New Source of the Beginnings of the Doenmeh Sect in Salonica," *Tarbiz*, vol. xxxii (1962), pp. 67-69; in English in Silver, Daniel Jeremy, ed., *In the Time of Harvest, Essays in Honor of Abba Hillel Silver on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* [New York 1963], pp. 368-86.) For a report of practices (1909-11), cf. Molho, Isaac R., "Additional Details about the Sabbataians in Salonica" in *Tsiyon*, n.s., vol. xi (1945-46), pp. 150-51. For a popular account, cf. Carlebach, Esriel, *Exotische Juden. Berichte und Studien* (Berlin 1932), pp. 154, 176; Ben-Zvi, Itzhak, "The Sabbateans of Salonica," in his *The Exiled and the Redeemed* (Philadelphia 1961), pp. 110-28.

¹⁴ Text (1776) in *FFP*, vol. ii, pp. 24-29.

¹⁵ On the German-speaking Frankists, see Scholem, Gershom, "A Sabbataian Will from New York," ["Will"] in *Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, part v, *Essays in Memory of E. N. Adler* . . . (London 1948), pp. 193-211; his "A Frankist Commentary to the Hallel," *Sepher ha-yovel Ilzhaq Baer* (The J. F. Baer Jubilee Volume) (Jerusalem 1960), pp. 409-430; his "Ein verschollener juedischer Mystiker der Aufklaerungszeit: E. J. Hirschfeld," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. vi (1962), pp. 247-78. On the German Cabbalistic tradition, see also his "Zur Literatur der letzten Kabbalisten in Deutschland," in *Zwei Welten. Siegfried Moses zum Fuenfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag* (Tel Aviv 1962), pp. 359-76.

Of the earlier literature, see Stein, Leopold, "Mittheilung ueber die Frankistensekte," *Achawa Vereins-Buch fuer 1868-5628*, vol. iv (Leipzig), pp. 154-66. It deals with the Porges' experiences. The article is, however, superseded by Gelber, N. M., "Memoirs of Moses Porges about the Frankists' Court in Offenbach," *Yivo-Yiddish Scientific Institute, Historishe shriftn* (Historical Writings), vol. i (Warsaw 1929), pp. 253-295.

increasingly assimilated in the Polish culture, a natural linguistic barrier arose. It is possible that the conversionist "Red" appeal addressed to the Jews in 1800 may have been prompted in part by the older generation's fear of the movement's inundation by younger polonized and Catholicized elements.¹⁶

Testimonies to Frankist Group Existence

There is ample evidence from nineteenth century sources that the Polish baptized Frankists continued some separate existence long after Eva's death. Not that such testimony always displayed authentic knowledge about the Sect. For instance, General Wincenty Krasinski wrote in 1818, two years after Eve's death, that the Frankists were still ruled by her. The neophytes, he reported, no longer send their children to the "court," but the older ones do send their taxes and report to the "supreme chiefs" who reside in Appenaheim (sic!), the "capital of the new Christians."¹⁷ A missionary reported the existence in the same year of a Cabalistic "society," obviously a Frankist conventicle, in Bohemia.¹⁸ An anonymous pamphlet, *O Zydach czyli judaizmie* (About the Jews or About Judaism), published in 1819, recommended the prohibition of marriages among neophytes because they constituted a sect and still went to Offenbach to the "patriarch Franke."¹⁹ Evidently, many had been sceptical about the news of the impostor's death in 1791.

The assumption of the Sect's continuity is demonstrated in a brochure published in 1820, in which the fear is expressed that "the several million Jews, together with the neophytes . . . might rise in a revolution, with the appearance of a Jew or convert endowed with great genius."²⁰ This fear of a Jewish-convert plot has been a recurrent motif in Polish antisemitic and even classical literature.²¹

Peter Beer stated in 1822 that the Frankists continued to maintain a recruiting station in Warsaw.²² Tsar Alexander I viewed them as a separate group in the 1820's. This is indicated in the reports of his spy Macrott, worthy of a more minute investigation.²³

¹⁶ Gelber, N. M., *Aus Zwei Jahrhunderten. Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte der Juden* (Vienna and Leipzig 1924), pp. 58-69; Beer, pp. 329-39 as in note 17.

¹⁷ Krasinski, Vincent, *Aperçu sur les Juifs de Pologne par un officier général polonais, nonce à la diète* (Warsaw or Paris 1818), pp. 27-30. Krasinski wrote that the French police investigated but could not find the secret of this "politico-mystique Secte." He based this information on Czacki's famous 1807 "Essay on the Jews and Karaites" (*Rozprawa o Zydach i Karaimach* [Krakow 1860], p. 56). The item about the investigation is also credited to Czacki by Peter Beer in his *Geschichte, Lehren und Meinungen aller bestehenden religioesen Sekten der Juden und die Geheimlehre oder Kabbalah*, vol. ii (Bruenn 1823), p. 341. Czacki wrote that "Frank's disciples constitute a separate community in Warsaw. Since the disciples of Frank are no longer Jews," he did not wish to devote more space to them.

¹⁸ Scholem, "Will," p. 198, on the basis of J. Nitschke in *The Jewish Exponent*, vol. iv (London 1819), pp. 30-32. The respondents were members of established Frankist families.

¹⁹ Warsaw, 1819, pp. 15-16.

²⁰ *O Zydach i judaizmie [czyli wykrycie zasad moralnych tudziez rozumowanie Zydow]* (About the Jews and Judaism [or the Exposition of the Moral Basis and Understanding of the Israelites]) (Siedlce 1820), cited by Mises, *PCPZ*, vol. i, pp. xxx-xxxi.

²¹ Cf. n. 112.

²² Beer, p. 340, as in note 17.

²³ Cf. p. 319.

In 1827 Jost wrote that the remains of the Sect "form to a large extent a sort of an order," whose secret teachings were little known. He predicted that the few Judaizing customs would soon be lost.²⁴ In 1828, he stated that these "Judaizing Catholics" reside in many communities in Poland, Moldavia and Turkey.²⁵

The German writer Harro Harring stated in 1831 that "though some of them [the Jews] by the way of speculation pretend to be converted to Christianity, they secretly adhere to the Hebrew faith."²⁶ This information very likely came from Polish sources. The same goes for S. A. Dunham, an Englishman, who described the Frankists in 1831, as "a sort of political association," founded on the maxim that "a Jew must of necessity always be a Jew and observe the law of Moses; but that he may publicly practice the profession of the dominant religion. He has only only to observe the Mosaic rites in secret." Dunham also mentioned the Frankist prohibition against intermarriage with Orthodox Jews and Gentiles. The chief place of the sect, he stated, was Appenheim. "They have hitherto eluded the investigation of the police."²⁷ In my opinion, Frankist separativeness led Maurycy Mochnacki to identify in the early 1830's as practicing or at least interested Jews all the converts who had attained prominence in the Russian armed forces and government apparatus.^{27*}

Mickiewicz's Mysterious Statement

A testimony to the existence of a Frankist Napoleonist wing in the 1830's is Mickiewicz's²⁸ statement at the College de France on June 14, 1842:

²⁴ *Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabaeer bis auf unsere Tage*, vol. viii, (Berlin 1827), p. 134.

²⁵ *Allgemeine Geschichte des israelitischen Volkes*, vol. ii (Leipzig 1828) pp. 471-72.

²⁶ *Poland under the Dominion of Russia. From the German* (London 1831), p. 189.

²⁷ *The History of Poland in One Volume* (London 1831), pp. 296-7. This information may well stem from Krasiński. Cf. n. 17.

^{27*} *Historja powstania narodu polskiego* (History of the Insurrection of the Polish Nation) in *Dziela* (Works), vol. ii (Poznan 1863), pp. 48-49.

²⁸ For the voluminous literature about Mickiewicz, see Sliwiska, Irmina, Roszkowska, Wanda and Stupkiewicz, Stanislaw, *Adam Mickiewicz. Zarys bibliograficzny* (Adam Mickiewicz. A Bibliographical Outline) (Warsaw 1957). The standard editions of his works are *Dziela wszystkie* (Complete Works), Sejm edition [-DW, S] (Warsaw 1933-36); Pini, Tadeusz and Reiter, Maryan, eds., *Dziela wszystkie* [-DW, PR], 12 vols. (Lwow 1912); Ploszewski, Leon, and others, eds., *Dziela* (works) [-D, P], 16 vols. (Warsaw 1955).

For the Jewish aspects, see my "The Mystery of the Jews in Mickiewicz's Towianist Lectures on Slav Literature" [-"MJ"], *The Polish Review*, vol. vii (1962), pp. 40-66; "Mickiewicz and the Jewish Problem" in Manfred Kridl, ed., *Adam Mickiewicz. Poet of Poland. A Symposium* (New York 1951), pp. 108-125; my "Jewish Volunteers in the Ottoman-Polish Cossack Units during the Crimean War," [-"JV"], *JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES*, vol. xvi (1954), pp. 203-18, 351-76; the basic, Brandstaetter, Roman, "Adam Mickiewicz's Jewish Legion", *Miesiecznik zydowski* (Jewish Monthly) (Lodz) year ii, no. 1 (Jan. 1932), pp. 20-43; no. 2, Feb., pp. 112-32; and no. 3, March, pp. 225-48. Ber Mark's Yiddish work *Adam Mickiewicz* (Warsaw 1955) has comparatively little material about the Jewish aspects. My "MJ" brings out some Frankist elements in Mickiewicz's Lectures on Slav Literature. The draft of this material was written in 1946, although I arrived at the suspicion of Frankist influences on Mickiewicz much earlier, in consequence of my researches, rather than under the influence of the debate about his descent, which I had disregarded before 1936 as a question of no consequence. Jan Lechoń viewed my theories as proof of his conviction of Mickiewicz's pact with the Devil and raised the question of Frankist involvement with black magic. Cf. his "Cards from a Diary," *Wiadomosci* (News) (London Jan. 12, 1958), p. 2. Meir Bosak pointed out some "Frankist Elements in Adam Mickiewicz's Creations," in *Davar* (Word), vol. xxxiii, no. 8848 (July 9, 1954), p. 3, Cf. also Dov Sadan on Mickiewicz's short poem, "The Flea and the Rabbi," *Molad* (Fatherland), vol. xiii, no. 83 (June 1955), pp. 250-54.

"I shall add that at that time [when Wronski wrote this]²⁹ there existed a numerous Israelite sect, half Christian, half Jewish, which also looked forward to Messianism and saw in Napoleon the Messiah, at least his predecessor.

This way, the speculative philosopher, the mathematician, found himself on the same road with Israelites who are learned in the scriptures and with Polish poets; for we shall see later that the verses of the poets of Poland, the sermons of her preachers, and the philosophical conclusions reached by Wronski's most accurate analysis are in complete agreement.³⁰

A correspondence from Warsaw in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* in 1838 referred to Mickiewicz as a Frankist "belonging to our nation."³¹ The identification of the Frankists as Jews in an "enlightened" Jewish periodical is not without significance.

Henningsen, following information from Polish émigrés, held in the 1840's that "the Frankists . . . consider it both lawful and praise—the dominant religion, whilst secretly adhering to their own." He also stated that "it has been furthermore proved that these Jews, professing Christianity, are to be found filling the offices of its ministry; and that Frankists have been discovered and probably to this day exist among the Catholic and Lutheran church dignitaries of Russia, Austrian and Prussian Poland."³²

Matthew J. Berk, a former Jew, reported in 1842 that "the Frankists still exist, but are by no means in a flourishing state."³³ He also cited at length from some other work information about the "Zoharites" who "were principally scattered throughout Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Poland."³⁴ Emil Pirazzi, Offenbach's historian, stated in 1895 that "until fifty years ago, the Frankist married only girls of their own community."³⁵ Chevalier de Cussy mentioned an encounter with presumably a Frankist girl in Danzig in 1843.³⁶

Leon Hollaenderski asserted in 1846 that the Frankists "are not all dead and

²⁹ See my "The Tarniks (Believers in the Coming of the Messiah in 1840)," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume. Studies in History and Philosophy* ["Tarniks"], (New York, Conference on Jewish Social Studies, 1953), pp. 191-201.

³⁰ Lecture 29, *D, P.*, vol. x, p. 369; *DW, S.*, vol. ix, p. 461; *LS, W.* vol. ii, p. 277. The texts vary. My translation is based on *D, P.*

³¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* [*AZdJ*], July 26, 1838, p. 362, col. 1. Shatzky, *In shotn fun ovar* (In the Shadow of the Past), (Buenos Aires 1947), pp. 9-10 (originally, *Di Zukunft* [Feb. 1923], pp. 120-24) states that the article in *AZdJ* originated in Paris. However, it is dated Warsaw. Scholem (*BIP*, p. 76, n. 50) remarks that this citation had escaped the disputants about Mickiewicz's origin in Poland some 15 to 20 years before. He does not refer to Shatzky.

³² *Eastern Europe and Emperor Nicholas*, ed. 3, vol. iii, (London 1846), pp. 274-75. Frankist conversions to Protestantism are not known to me. However, in view of Frank's negotiations on conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy, the possibility of Frankist conversions to Protestantism need not be excluded. They may also shed light on Mickiewicz's references to his Calvinist relatives, mentioned in his letter to Trentowski, January 16, 1840, in *DW, PR*, vol. xi, p. 224.

³³ *The History of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity to the Present Time* (Boston 1847), p. 297. First published in 1842, the book is evidently a reprint of the second edition, 1843.

³⁴ Berk, citing some unidentified works, described the Frankists' reluctance to report their numbers and their self-characterization as one family. There is also a description of a meeting with the head of the family of "Zoharites" in Prague (pp. 460-62).

³⁵ Jacob Frank, der Messias aus Podolien," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, no. 280, 1895. Clipping in the Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

³⁶ *Intermediare de chercheurs et curieux*, vol. lxxvii, no. 1620 (April 10, 1925), col. 285 and no. 1625 (June 20-30, 1925), col. 542-43. Reference from a publication by Scholem, which has escaped me.

their adherence continues today . . . their general headquarters (*depôt*) is now to be found in Warsaw" and that Polish sectaries visit Frank's grave every year.³⁷

A testimony dating to 1847 by I. I. Grigoriev, probably a Russian official, similarly takes the Sect's existence for granted. He reported that after Frank's death his

suite scattered, but the sect created by him has been guarding its existence to this day. In Warsaw its members call themselves *Frankists*. Their communities abroad were still to be found twenty years ago in Moldavia and Turkey. Its very enemies respond with the greatest praise about the morals of the members of this sect. Does it maintain liaisons with the Moslem Sab-batai-Tzviists and if it does, is there at the base of this liaison a unity of secret common dogmas, belonging [as they do] in every country to the Ruling Church, without diminishing that independence of the sect?—it is not known; because those who know are dedicated to preserve their knowledge in the greatest secrecy from the ignorant.³⁸

Bohdan Zaleski described a dinner with Mickiewicz on August 7, 1851, when the poet

told interesting things about the Frankists with whom he had the opportunity to be in touch through his wife. They have gone quite a distance from Frank, nevertheless, they retain the tradition of his prophecies about Poland.³⁹

Walerjan Kalinka, the Galician historian, stated in 1852 that although the Sect has deteriorated in unity and numbers since Frank's death, it continued to maintain itself in Galicia's Polish provinces.⁴⁰ In 1854 Jozef Goluchowski, under the pseudonym of Klemens Przewor, mentioned the continued practice of marriage within the group.⁴¹ On the other hand, Jost intimated in 1859⁴² that the Sect's life was almost ended with Frank's death, in contrast to his opinions concerning its continued existence, expressed earlier in 1827 and 1828.⁴³ There seems to have been some revival of interest in the Frankists to judge by the publication of articles about them in the popular *Gartenlaube*, including one about "The Holy Master," reputedly written by Dominik Zielinski, outstanding lawyer and Attorney General.⁴⁴ In 1866, E. Hipolyt Skimborowicz expressed his doubt about the

³⁷ *Les Israélites de Pologne* (Paris 1846), pp. 280, 34, n. 1. Interestingly, Hollaenderski identified Frank as the author of *V'aavo ha-yom el ha-ayin* (*ibid.*, p. 254). The literature on the Eibeschutz problem is too numerous to be mentioned here.

³⁸ *Evreiskiiia religioznyia sekty v Rossiya* (Jewish Religious Sects in Russia) (St. Petersburg 1847), Press of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, p. 203.

³⁹ Letter to Michalina Dziekonska, in Zaleski, Jozef Bohdan, *Korespondencja* (Correspondence), ed. Dyonizy Zaleski (5 vols.), vol. ii (Lwow 1900-04), p. 185, Cf. also Shatzky, in *In shotn, op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 11, and my "MJ," n. 59.

⁴⁰ *Galicya pod panowaniem austriackiem* (Galicia under Austrian Rule) (Krakow 1898), p. 104; (first edition, Paris 1853).

⁴¹ [-Goluchowski, Jozef], *O Reforme Zydow, projekt podany w 1841* (About Reforming the Jews. A Proposal Submitted in 1841) (Poznan 1845), p. 44. For authorship, cf. Gelber, N. M., "Proposals for a Jewish State," *Knesseth . . . I'zekher H. N. Bialik*, vol. iv (1939), p. 305; and Verète, M., "Polish Proposals for a Territorial Solution of the Jewish Problem," *Tsiyon*, n.s., vol. vi (1941), p. 207. My citation is from the 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1854, p. 44.

⁴² *Geschichte des Judenthums und Seiner Sekten* (Leipzig 1859), dritte Abteilung, p. 184. Jost does not take up the duration problem.

⁴³ Cf. notes 24, 25.

⁴⁴ "Der heilige Herr. Einer geheimnisvoller Glaubensfuhrer," *Gartenlaube*, no. 33 (1865), pp. 521-23; no. 34, pp. 534-36. The anonymous author claimed that the Frankists called themselves "Edomiter" (p. 523). Fr. Hoffman's article, "Zwei fuerstliche Geheimnisse neuerer Zeit" (*ibid.*, no. 22 [1866], p. 345-48), was basically a report of the Schenk-Rinck reminiscences, including revelations of Eva's debts to his family. Cf. Schenk-Rinck, *Die Polen in Offenbach* (Frankfurt a. M. 1866).

Sect's continued existence.⁴⁵ Graetz followed his lead in 1868.⁴⁶ In 1877 Graetz asserted that he had been assured by "various trustworthy persons" that the Frankists continued to exist in Warsaw and that they married only among themselves.⁴⁷

Shatzky pointed out that in 1882 interest in the Frankists was stimulated by the Czech journalist, Eduard Jellinek, who had revealed in a "sensational" reportage the existence of strong Frankist remnants in Warsaw. He also mentioned, without documentation, the discovery of some documents about Frankists in the same year in Lublin, which had received lively attention in both the Polish and German-Jewish press.⁴⁸ This, he stated, had led the Frankists to measures of self-defense against radicals attack. In 1882, Ignatz Bernstein, the folklorist, wrote from Warsaw to Adolph Jellinek that the Frankists still continue to marry mainly among themselves and that "it is said that the Frankists differ in some religious observances from the Catholic Christians. I cannot, however, say of what this difference consists." Bernstein told in his letter that the Frankists were concentrated in law, that most do not or have not been making much ado about their Jewish descent, that Dominik Zielinski, alleged author of the article in *Gartenlaube*, (who died two years before) "would tell anyone who was willing to listen that his very old grandmother continued to practice certain Jewish rites until her very death and that she used to invite him every Sabbath for the traditional kugel." He also told of resistance to intermarriage and reported that Attorney General Jan Kanty Wolowski (1803-1864) declared openly in the Senate that he was proud of belonging to a family that had produced many illustrious rabbis, including the author of *Tevuat Shor*.⁴⁹

Shatzky then skipped to 1891, when [J. K.] Potocki, wrote in the radical *Głos* (The Voice) that "although they [the Frankists] had accepted Christianity at the beginning of our century, they have nevertheless remained in intimate contact with Jews."⁵⁰

Two years after, stated Shatzky, the conservative [Walery] Przyborowski published under the pseudonym of Sulima a compilative work of defense against these charges.⁵¹ According to Shatzky, the author's hiding behind a pseudonym

⁴⁵ *Zywot, skon i nauka Jakuba Jozefa Franka* (Life, Death, and Teachings of Jacob Joseph Frank) (Warsaw 1866), p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Frank und die Frankisten—Eine Sektengeschichte* (Breslau 1868), p. 90. A popular article on "Frank and the Frankists," in *AZdJ*, vol. xxxii, no. 8 (Feb. 18, 1868), pp. 157-59 and no. 10 (March 3, 1868), p. 179-180, also cited Skimborowicz and asserted that Frank's prohibition of exogamous marriages had been practiced only by the first and second generations.

⁴⁷ "Ueberbleibsel der Sabbatianer in Salonika," *MGWJ*, vol. xxvi (1877), p. 132.

⁴⁸ "Kraushar," p. 167, n. 33.

⁴⁹ Bernstein also wrote that the younger Frankists felt insulted whenever reminded of their Jewish descent. Until twenty years ago, he stated, one seldom met a non-Frankist lawyer or notary. He told that when asked for his daughter's hand by a true Catholic, one Roch-Zawadzki, replied: "I have nothing against you, but this is the first time that a daughter of a Frankist is about to marry a Catholic: I expect of you never to reproach my daughter because of her Jewish descent. Should I be disappointed in this respect, you will surely get a bullet in your head." Bernstein also traced the Polish insult *Meches* (Convert) to the initials of the words מנח סניור סנטו — "from the Sect of Senior Santo." Jellinek, Ad., "Nachkommen von Frankisten in Warschau," *Das juedische Literaturblatt* (Magdeburg) vol. xi, no. 27 (July 5, 1882), p. 107. The date of Zielinski's article in *Gartenlaube*, presumably written under the initials D.....k K.....i, is given as 1869. However the article in 1865 (cf. n. 44) does not carry the cited initials.

Shatzky's identification of the author as Eduard Jellinek ("Kraushar," p. 168, n. 33) is wrong. *Kalendar Cesko-Zydovsky* to which he also refers is not available here.

⁵⁰ "Kraushar," p. 167, n. 34. On [Kazimierz] Zalewski, Frankist, see *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵¹ Sulima, Zygmunt Lucyan, *Historia Franka i frankistów* (History of Frank and the Frankists) (Krakow 1893).

had not helped matters, because "the opposition declared that the writer did not want to be identified because he 'had been hired' by the grandsons of the 'anti-Talmudists'."⁵² In 1893, Shatzky continued, "K[azimierz] Bartoszewicz published a series of historical articles on the Frankists in the St. Petersburg *Kraj* (The Land)."⁵³ However, he failed to present their contents.

In his Hebrew translation of Kraushar's *FFP* Nahum Sokolow held that the author had condemned the Frankists to premature death to please their descendants who desired the disappearance of their genealogy because of antisemitism's spread. Admitting that an (organized) Sect no longer existed, Sokolow avoided definite commitment concerning its final liquidation.⁵⁴

In 1903 Teodor Jeske-Choinski stated that "it is known that the Frankists had held themselves together tightly until 1810." After that doubts in Frank, deaths and Polish education had brought about their assimilation. Nevertheless, only the "youngest contemporary" generation was completely Polish and intermarried with Poles.⁵⁵ In 1919, he repeated these views, insisting however, that there were still some left who had not forgotten their Messiah.⁵⁶

I was told by the martyr historians, Emanuel Ringelblum and Isaac (Ignacy) Schipper, in 1933 and 1934, that they had come across or heard of Christian Poles who carried miniatures of Jacob or Eva Frank in their watchcases.

In the truly antisemitic 1930's Rolicki expressed his uncertainty whether or not the Frankist movement still existed.⁵⁷ Piotr Ponisz was sure that they did.^{57*}

In 1960, Syga and Szenic, who had taken cognizance of Frankism in their competent semi-fictional biography of Maria Szymanowska [-MS] traced the Sect's decline to Eva's death. To cite: "The Sect then died out completely, although in Poland, the followers of Frank, though they became quickly faithful believers in the Roman Catholic religion, continued to maintain among themselves over several generations a certain separatism, marrying predominantly among themselves."⁵⁸

A sectarian tradition of this sort does not die out easily. It is most unfortunate that Matthias Mieses was murdered by the Nazis before the completion of his

⁵² "Kraushar," p. 168.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, n. 35. They are not available here.

⁵⁴ *Frank v'adato 1726-1816. Mehqar be-divrei ha-yamim* (Frank and His Community—Research and Interpretation in History), vol. i (Warsaw 1895), pp. 38-39 n. Sokolow's translation contains some corrections and much useful information, especially on pp. 144-47, 156, 157, 158-59, 202, 203, 204-5, 208, 214-17, 230, 33, 245, 246, 249, 255. Only 16 pages of the second volume were published in 1897.

Sokolow viewed several factors as possible testimony to the group's continuity, namely: 1) the "racial" element, manifested by the prevalent practice of endogamous marriage and, consequently, by the unchanged physical appearance; 2) the widespread identification of Frankists as such and frequent failure to distinguish between them and Jews, despite the lapse of five generations.

⁵⁵ *NP*, pp. 68, 70-71.

⁵⁶ *Historia zydow w Polsce* (History of the Jews in Poland) (Warsaw 1919), p. 158.

⁵⁷ Rolicki, Henryk, *Zmierzch Izraela* (The Decline of Israel), ed. 3 (Warsaw 1933), p. 130.

^{57*} *Sprawa zydow w Polsce ze stanowiska narodowego i katolickiego* (The Jewish Question in Poland from the National and Catholic Points of View) (Czestochowa 1938).

⁵⁸ Syga, Teofil and Szenic, Stanislaw, *Maria Szymanowska i jej czasy* (Maria Szymanowska and Her Times) [-MS] (Warsaw 1960), p. 41.

researches on Frankism's duration.⁵⁹ For our purposes there is sufficient evidence for the reasonable assumption that the Frankists continued as an organized group in the 1850's, at least on the basis of Mickiewicz's testimony.⁶⁰

Continuity of the Non-Converted Frankists

Experiences from the Sect's German-speaking elements may help us to understand both similar and different processes that had taken place in Poland.

The will of Gottlieb Wehle, written in 1863-63, is, according to Scholem, "the latest document written by a Jewish Sabbathaian who obviously never abandoned the basic tenets of the doctrine which he was taught in his father's house."⁶¹ In this will, Wehle, who died in New York in 1881, "far from being ashamed of Sabbathaiism, admonishes his children not to forget their noble degree."⁶² His daughter, who died in the 1920's in New York, "still considered Eve Frank . . . to have been a saint, apparently on the strength of the tradition."⁶³ Alice Goldmark's remarks about the Sect similarly reveal admiration for Frank well in the twentieth century.⁶⁴ Scholem holds that the "Jewish" Frankists, "including those who clung to their messianic hopes and dreams of the great role of the sect in the past, became 'new Jews', as several observers have remarked, i.e., supporters of reform movements, in some cases also Reform Judaism, or indifferent to religion altogether."⁶⁵ The Yiddish poet, Abraham Liesin, reported an encounter with a Jewish Sabbataian in White Russia in 1881.⁶⁶

Efforts at conversion of Jews to Frankism by German-speaking Frankists date back to several years after Eva's death, as in the case of Dr. Emanuel Dembitz, the grandfather of Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, who for a time made his living as a physician in the Poznanie area.⁶⁷ The continuity of Frankist Cabbala in Germany can be traced even later.⁶⁸ The essential difference between the converted "Catholic" and the unconverted "Jewish" Frankists is that the latter functioned as secret sectaries within the Jewish community and the former within the Polish one. Evidently most unbaptized Frankists later remained Jews because in Central Europe gradual secularization and emancipation had made Jewish

⁵⁹ Cf. PCPZ. On Mieses, see Gelber, N. M., "Matityahu Mieses," in Mirsky, Samuel K., ed., *Ishim u-demuyot be-hakhmat Yisrael b'Europa ha-mizrachit lifnei shekiuta* (Personalities and Figures in Jewish Scholarship in Eastern Europe before Its Decline) (New York 1959), pp. 282-86. Mieses' notes were taken from Przemyśl by a Dr. Kronenberg to the U.S. Zone of Occupation in Germany.

⁶⁰ See above, n. 30.

⁶¹ "Will," p. 193.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-95.

⁶⁴ For the Frankist connections of the '48'er Wehle and Brandeis families, see Goldmark, Josephine, *Pilgrims of '48*, (New Haven 1930), particularly pp. 191-94, where high opinions are expressed of Frank. Cf. also Mason, Alpheus Thomas, *Brandeis, A Free Man's Life*, (New York 1946), p. 441; and Scholem, "Will."

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁶⁶ Scholem, *BIP*, p. 175.

⁶⁷ Scholem, "Will," p. 196. Earlier Levi Shaulson Fraenkel, rabbi in Breslau in 1800, who was involved in schemes for a world religion, converted to Catholicism in 1809 and died a troubled penitent Jew, was also "trapped by the influence of the Frankists who had a center in Breslau thanks to an emissary from Prague," early in the century. Cf. Mahler, Raphael, *Divrei yemei Yisrael. Dorot ha-aharonim . . .* (A History of the Jews. The Last Generations. From the Beginnings of the 18th Century until Our Times) [*-Divrei*], vol. i, book ii (Merhavva, 1954), pp. 180-81.

⁶⁸ Cf. note 15.

belongingness easier. There is even on record the return to Orthodox Judaism of Naphtali Dembitz.⁶⁹ The sceptics among the Sabbataian Jews behaved not unlike their counterparts among the normative Jews. They were inclined towards Haskalah (enlightenment).⁷⁰ Some left the fold. Others intermarried. Justice Brandeis eventually returned to Judaism through Zionism, a process common among assimilated Jews in emancipated societies.⁷¹ In Eastern Europe they vanished, leaving local traditions here and there.^{71a} Perhaps, some joined the *maskilim*. Some may have converted to Christianity.

No Return to Judaism

The baptized Frankists were subjected to harder stresses. With their integration in the Polish upper or middle classes they not only abandoned their faith in Frank as the Messiah, the way it happened among the non-baptized German periphery *maaminim* (believers) in consequence of emancipation, but also had to shed their Jewish identification, practices, and culture patterns. It can be assumed that some Polish Frankists had begun to view Frank as a mentor and emancipator rather than the supernatural emissary soon after his death, because of westernization and economic rise. The shadier aspects of the Sect's early history were eventually forgotten, while gratitude to Frank must have grown in retrospect, just as among the non-baptized sectaries.

Cognizance should be taken of an essential difference. Among the Polish Frankists operated a factor that had not existed among the non-baptized. A "Catholic" third or fourth generation, possibly even second generation Frankist, who had lost his faith in Frankism, could not return to Judaism, because of legal prohibitions, material losses, the threat of return to the ghetto, and contempt for the Jews in which he was raised. Many Frankists evidently remembered the persecution of their ancestors by the Jews. Only the most idealistic persons could overcome these obstacles, and if there had been cases of clandestine return to Judaism among the Catholic Frankists, they remain a deep secret today, just as they would have been when such acts had taken place.

A Sceptical Approach to Christianity

The de-Frankized "Catholic" Frankists were no longer Jews, religiously speaking, not even of their own Cabbalistic "Higher Torah"; neither were they Catholics, but initially they had been more Jews than Catholics. With acculturation into Polish life we can well visualize demonstrative observance of Catholicism's more visible rites, an increasingly enthusiastic identification with Polish nationalism, possibly an inclination towards its liberal democratic trends. A transition stage to a rational and deistic mood can also be visualized. It is difficult to believe that the enlightened Frankist who had emancipated himself from the belief in Jacob or Eva Frank could sincerely adopt the Catholic faith, a hated religion, alien to the group, which it had been forced to accept as a last resort.⁷² (Frank

⁶⁹ He was author of *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* (Philadelphia 1898).

⁷⁰ Scholem, "Will," p. 198. Cf. also Mahler, *Divrei*, vol. i, book 2, p. 242.

⁷¹ Cf. Mason, *Brandeis*, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

^{71a} There is a good deal of oral tradition about the "Shepslach." Cf. also n. 66.

⁷² On this there is general agreement among historians. Secularists like Ringelblum have naturally emphasized this point in their anxiety to blame Jewish "clericalism" for this drastic step. Cf. Ringelblum, *Kosciuszko*, p. 182 (as in n. 89).

hated the clergy.) Such hostility could have been expected among the sectaries at this stage. Possibly, the less educated or less enlightened might have been more inclined to accept vague Cabbalistic but non-Christian trinitarian beliefs more easily and thus could accept Catholicism more readily. It had most likely taken generations of cultural assimilation to arrive at the decision to raise the children as true Catholics and even longer to acquiesce to marriages with Catholics of non-Jewish descent, a practice which led to the presumably final disappearance of the Frankists within the Polish nation.

The Frankists as a Social Group

Information about the gradual replacement of Cabbalistic Judaism by Roman Catholicism, perfunctory or true, but always convenient and profitable, and of the abandonment of the Jewish ethnic-cultural belongingness in favor of Polishness, or, sociologically speaking, the assimilation of the Frankists into Polish Catholic society, is almost non-existent. The converted Frankists in Poland were numerous enough to have constituted a socially self-sufficient group. A high birth rate and rapid economic rise thanks to their acquisition of the status of Christians together with Frank's autocratic leadership had enabled the Sect to maintain its cohesion for some time without marrying outside the group.

True, the purely religious factors were bound to lose their potency following the deaths of Frank and Eva. Other binding ties were the awareness of the anti-nominal revolt against traditional Judaism that had led the Frankists out of ghetto misery to relative freedom and prosperity.^{72a}

Some families evidently broke away early but not very likely in the second generation. Stefania Swierczewska claims that the Krysinskis were at the head of "the enlightened Israelites, who did not endorse these Frankist tendencies" of "transformation into an ordinary religious sect with elementary Hebrew-Christian beliefs."^{72b} She presents no evidence for her view.

Until 1810, wrote Jeske-Choinski, the Frankists constituted a coterie of insincere, ostensible neophytes, strangers to the Christian population because of their own ceremonies and Sabbataian hallucinations.

Not many of them spoke Polish until that time and knew how to write

^{72a} T. Heilikman limited the Frankists' "progressive" role to their opposition to "rabbinism and the kahal regime." To cite: "The dogma of the Cabbalistic trinity was, essentially, an expression of religious assimilation and has reflected, in the language of mysticism, the dominant needs of these layers of the urban petty bourgeoisie for a free market for the marketing of their goods and productions among the Christian population. But if Frankism was the movement of the urban petty bourgeoisie, Hassidism was essentially an oppositionist wing of the rural petty bourgeoisie." Cf. his *Geshichte fun der gezelshaftlecher bavegung fun di jidn in Poiln un Rusland* (History of the Social Movement of the Jews in Poland and Russia), vol. i (Moscow 1926), pp. 232-33; Russian translation in Belenky, M. S., ed., *Kritika yudeiskoi religii* (Critique of the Jewish Religion) (Moscow 1962), pp. 362-3. However, Mahler maintains that the Frankists had been recruited from the oppressed masses and consisted of "revolutionary elements." *Divrei*, vol. i, book 2, p. 298. Similarly, Ringelblum accepts Kraushar's thesis of the low economic status of Frank's followers (*Kosciuszko*, p. 182ff.). On social origin, cf. also Scholem, *BPI*, pp. 73-74.

^{72b} "Jan Czyński, a Political and Literary Figure and Publicist of the Times of the Great Emigration (1801-1867)," in *Towarzystwo Literackie Im. Adama Mickiewicza. Oddział w Łodzi* (Literary Association Named after Adam Mickiewicz. Lodz Section), *Prace polonistyczne* (Polonistic Works), series viii, 1950 (Wrocław-Lodz, 1951), p. 112. However, cf. n. 94 on exogamous marriages.

it until 1810, the testimony thereof are their baptismal and marriage certificates, marked in the Church records with crosses of the parents of the baptized and of the witnesses instead of names, or by such awkward hieroglyphics, that they have to be read through an enlarging glass.

Only at about 1810 the "faith" of Frank began to sink slowly. The prophet was no more. His successor, the so called maiden, who had been expected to carry on the father's work, was growing old, the earliest associates of the "master" were dying out. A (second and third) generation grew up. It was educated in the schools of the Piarists' [order], it has integrated itself in the native population. Now all the Frankists had become Catholics and Poles, which has not prevented them from holding themselves together as a group, marry among themselves, help each other, view themselves as one family. So powerful was Frank's influence that a hundred years of different conditions could not defeat, digest. Only the youngest, contemporary Frankist generation is no longer faithful to the commandments of their master, and even mixes its blood with its Aryan co-religionists.⁷³

The same version, with a few minor stylistic changes, was repeated by Choinski in 1919 in his antisemitic "History of the Jews." He held that assimilation began with the fourth and fifth generations. He added, however, that

There are still some around who until today cannot forget the leader of their ancestors and who carry his portraits with them in their wallets or purses. But there are also some who had forgotten about their "Messiah," have been clinging to their new fatherland, have served her and continue to serve her as proper citizens, patriots, learned men (the Wolowski, Krynski, Szymanowski, Niedzielski, Jezioranski, Adamowski, Labecki, and other [families]). They have generally been active in the bar.⁷⁴

Choinski presents no valid reasons for the date, 1810. His testimony concerning the signatures may be accepted, but the answer in many cases is not illiteracy. It is not conceivable that a person like Franciszek Wolowski had been unable to sign his name in Polish. The answer is contempt for the ceremony.

Rejection and Continuity

The Frankists' rejection by Polish society led to greater self-containment. Of course, paramount in their survival was the belief in their Cabbalistic "higher Torah" and in their messiah. There is no direct information at all on the duration of this belief. Neither do we have direct evidence concerning the retention of Hebrew or Yiddish. Their Bohemian brethren continued to study the Talmud well in the 19th century.⁷⁵ And if the study of Cabbalistic lore had been maintained among the Polish Frankists for a few generations, surely some knowledge of Hebrew must have been retained, as it had been among the Doenmeh.⁷⁶

There is evidence of circulation of Frankist literature in manuscripts in Polish translation and very likely also in Hebrew and Aramaic among the old-timers and those who had continued to cling to Jewish practices and the Cabbalah. Their number became gradually smaller. To judge by the transcription of the Hebrew

⁷³ Cf. n. 55.

⁷⁴ Cf. n. 56.

⁷⁵ Cf. Scholem, "Mitzvah," p. 358.

⁷⁶ Cf. note 13.

quotations in the Polish translation,⁷⁷ the Frankists kept the Polish pronunciation. This is evidence of the continuity of bilingualism among persons capable of handling Polish as well as of the desire to transmit the teachings to the younger generations.

Here and there we find hints about the retention of other Jewish culture patterns. Important is the identification as Jews. Frank called his followers Jews, but he also referred contemptuously to Jews. It is rather possible that like other emancipated Jews the *maaminim* (believers) in transition may have preferred to call themselves "Israelites" or "Israel". There is no proof thereof.

Accusations Concerning Jewish Practices

Anti-Frankist literature contains accusations of the continuity of Jewish customs, ranging from Jewish Sabbath observance to "eating of kugel."⁷⁸ Another publication complained that "no one of us knows when they had been baptized; where they bury their dead; where they get married."⁷⁹ Frankists were accused of not practicing Christian ceremonies, of marrying only their own, of not accepting the Sacraments, of circumcision, of secret Jewish prayer.⁸⁰ Such accusations were repeated in 1820.⁸¹

It is inconceivable that all the Frankists had abandoned all their Jewish customs, and, least of all, that all had given up Jewish prayer or their own version of it. The absence of references to prayer in the few extant memoirs is no proof of non-performance. Would an Orthodox Jew mention in his memoirs that he prays three times daily, unless something unusual had occurred during the services?

More can be generalized about their *Bauchjudentum*, an area which assimilated Jews or converts are generally reluctant to abandon. Accusations concerning a penchant for the consumption of Jewish dishes were not rare in anti-Frankist literature.⁸² Mickiewicz and his family were very fond of gefillte fish.⁸³ As late as the 1870's, Zielinski reported of his grandmother's Jewish cooking.⁸⁴ Completely unknown is the duration of Jewish names.^{84a}

⁷⁷ Only a few writings in Polish, very likely translated from Yiddish and Hebrew, survived and have been utilized by Sulima and more fully by Kraushar in *FFP*. They include "The Book of the Lord's Words," and "The Prophecies of Isaiah." Prof. Scholem is now editing the full text of the first work.

⁷⁸ *Zwierciadlo polskie dla publicznosci* (Polish Mirror for the Public) (Warsaw 1790), cited by Ringelblum, *Kosciuszko*, p. 188, n. 2. Cf. also p. 294.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* The title is *Pasalyk pod imieniem cwika . . .* (The Pashalyk under the Name of a Charlatan) (1790). I am indebted to Dr. Alfred Berstein for assistance in the translation of the title.

⁸⁰ *Katechizm o Zydach i neofitach* (Catechism about the Jews and the Neophytes) (s.a., s. l.), cited in Smolenski, Wladyslaw, *Stan i sprawa zydow poskich w XVIII wieku* (The Situation and the Question of the Polish Jews in the 18th Century) (Warsaw 1876), p. 36.

⁸¹ Cf. n. 20.

⁸² *FFP*, vol. ii, pp. 139ff; note 78 above.

⁸³ His Paris tailor, Jacob Kreidler, told of regular gifts of Matzah and of his wife's preparations of pike, Jewish style, for the Mickiewicz household. Gadon, Lubomir, "Mickiewicz and the Tailor Jacob," *Z ziem pagorkow lesnych* (From the Lands of the Wooded Hillocks) (Warsaw 1899), pp. 60-68.

⁸⁴ Cf. p. 294.

^{84a} Eva Frank, baptized Zofia Gertruda, reverted to her original name (*FFP*, vol. i, p. 11). On Frank and "new names," cf. *FFP*, vol. ii, p. 76. It may be assumed that the double name system continued in other cases. For the suspicion of Mickiewicz's name "Moses," cf. p. 325, n. 218.

Continuity was helped by marriage within the sect and later with other converted Jews and their descendants. Possibly, there was later greater leniency when it came to outside marriages in the case of females.⁸⁵ Contacts with unconverted Frankists furnished support and encouragement. On the other hand, Frank's teachings on Poland as the chosen land and on the French Revolution as the prelude to Messianic times had led to positive attitudes to Polish culture, to participation in Polish revolutionary activities, to the replacement of Jewish belongingness by Polish patriotism, and eventually to assimilation. Economic advancement and search for higher social status were also factors in the absorption of the Frankists by Polish society. The converted Frankists also had mutual defense interests, very likely regardless of the religious changes among them. Resentment by "Old Christians" against their economic rise enhanced the group's concern with mutual welfare, already well established under Frank's rule.

It may also be inferred that some mystic movements temporarily checked the Sect's decline. For instance, the rise of Napoleon, the calling of the Sanhedrin, calculations of the messianic return at a definitive date, such as the Tarnik movement in 1840 and messianic expectations in 1848 and 1860⁸⁶ would have temporarily stimulated greater solidarity. The aforementioned collection of momentos and documents by Frankist emissaries⁸⁷ can therefore also be interpreted as attempts at solidification of the faithful remnants or consequences of unknown rivalry among splinter groups, clans or leaders.

The Frankists were also united by less positive aspects, namely dislike of the Jews who forced them into conversion and thus cut them off from "their near and dear ones as well as hatred of the Catholic clergy which had its share in this drastic step."⁸⁸ Difficult was the ambivalence of the sectaries, hovering between the Judaism of yesterday and the new Messianism to be soon realized, clinging to many aspects of the old, while pretending to play the roles of pious Christians. The task of raising a new generation under such condition of double Marranoism was indeed a difficult one and required much cooperation and close-mouthedness. Kinship and the close social relations have made Frankism to a large extent a family religion, that has continually been strengthened by marriage and by economic ties through concentration in certain occupations.⁸⁹

In brief, it is proper to view the Catholic Frankists from a sociological angle as a well-established, self-sustaining, and closely knit group.

Marriage within the Sect

Among the various conjectures concerning the number of baptized Frankists, Mises' estimate based on contemporaneous figures of 12,000 in 1760 and 24,000

⁸⁵ Scholem, *BIP*, p. 7.

⁸⁶ Aharon Markus in *Ha-hassidut* (Hassidism) (Tel Aviv 1954), p. 58, denies the validity of calculations for 1848. On 1860, see my "Tarniks," p. 194.

⁸⁷ Cf. n. 10.

⁸⁸ Scholem states that the Austrian Frankists' "positive evaluation of great religious values in Christianity is combined with hatred of its organization and priests." ("Mitzvah," p. 389.)

⁸⁹ Ringelblum points out that the Frankists continued for some time to concentrate in the old Jewish occupations of innkeeping and liquor distillery and other urban occupations. Cf. his *Di poilishe jidn in oifstund fun Kosciuszko* (The Polish Jews in Kosciuszko's Insurrection) [-Kosciuszko] (Warsaw 1937), pp. 183-4, 189 n. 13, 18.

in 1791⁹⁰ may appear to be exaggerated. However, a group even one-eighth of this size was large enough to supply mates for its adherents and thus retain its integrity for a long time. Marriages could also have been concluded with unconverted Frankists, although I have not come across any records of such unions, and, later, with non-Frankist Jewish converts to Christianity, some of whom could have been secret sectaries or with their descendants. The differences between the baptized and the unbaptized Frankists that were centered about the spurious Catholicism of converted were of no great consequence at first, though the conflict between those who were the stricter Sabbataians and therefore more Jewish and the others who followed Frank more blindly might have mattered. Polonization very likely also presented barriers to unions between both groups, as the strict Sabbataians had been very likely concentrated among the "German" rather than among the Polish converted sectaries. The common practice of marriages among cousins in the Wolowski and other families may have been due to the Sect's decreasing cohesion as well as to the separatism between the rich and the poor.

As Ringelblum pointed out, endogamous marriages may also be traced to the fear that "mixed marriages would not be successful because of deep prejudices which were held even against neophytes." He cited cases of broken-up marriages between Catholics and converts, none of them, however, involving Frankists.⁹¹ That rich converts married exclusively other converts is also brought out by Shatzky.⁹²

Mieses' data show that preference for Frankist or converted Jews as marital partners continued for a long time into third generation and even later.⁹³

It is difficult to establish the course of marriages with autochthonous Chris-

⁹⁰ Mieses argues in favor of the larger numbers, 15,000 in 1759 and 24,000 in 1791, which he justifies by the inadequacy of the lists of the baptized and by the latter's very high birth rate (*PCPZ*, vol. i, pp. xx-xxvi). Smoleński, similarly, estimates the number of neophytes (including Frankists) at the end of the 18th century to have reached 24,000 (*op. cit.*), p. 37. The listings of the baptized Frankists are incomplete. N. M. Gelber is therefore in error in considering only the names listed in *FFP*. (Cf. his "Die Taufbewegung unter den polnischen Juden um XVIII Jahrhundert," *MGWJ*, vol. lxxviii [1924], pp. 225-41.) Ringelblum is ultra-conservative with an estimate of several thousand in Warsaw at the end of the century (*Kosciuszko*, p. 188, n. 1), as is Scholem, *BIP*, p. 73. Syga and Szenic follow the moderate statistics in Kraushar's work as well as others in estimating the number as over 1,000 (*MS*, p. 451). However, such a small number would not have made it possible to maintain in Offenbach a large retinue, sometimes 1,000 persons, predominantly Polish, even with the aid of the non-Polish Frankists.

⁹¹ "The Jews in the Light of the Warsaw Press of the Eighteenth Century," *Miesięcznik żydowski*, vol. ii, year ii, no. 7-8, (July-August 1932), pp. 79-85.

⁹² *Geshichte fun yidn in Varshe* (History of Jews in Warsaw) [-Warsaw], vol. 1 (New York 1947), p. 299.

⁹³ The following cases may be taken as examples: Brzeziński-Orłowski and Brzeziński-Tatarkiewicz (*PCPZ*, vol. i, pp. 58, 59, 60; vol. ii, p. 228); third generation lawyer Edward Józef Grabowski (1809-1899)-Zofia Krysińska; Ludwik Jasiński-Franciszka Niemirowska (1824) (vol. i, pp. 190-91); Tomasz Krysiński-Barbara Rydecka (vol. ii, p. 48); Idelfons Krysiński (1795-1870)—Wolowska (*ibid.*, p. 55). Teofil Krysiński-Alexandra Wolowska (1839), Mickiewicz's relatives by marriage (*ibid.*, pp. 45-46). Józef Labecki married Barbara Wolowska. However, their son, Antoni, and daughters married Gentiles (*ibid.*, pp. 109-11). The critic Ignacy Matuszewski (1858-1903) married the convert Bein (*ibid.*, pp. 115-16). The journalist Wacław Szymanowski's daughter married Konrad Olchowicz (1858-1924), a convert (*ibid.*, p. 161). Franciszek, son of Dominik Zieliński (1826-80), married Karolina Wolff, of convert origin (vol. ii, p. 302).

tians.⁹⁴ It possible that a true conversion to Catholicism might have been the deciding factor in some cases. On the other hand, the desire for rapid assimilation might have been the cause for the exogamous marriage. In turn such a marriage may have been an important factor in the drive for Catholic piety, pretended or genuine. The case of General Jozef Szymanowski's rapid acculturation in Polish and Vatican society and in the Catholic faith cannot be explained without the discovery of new data.⁹⁵ The radicals among the Frankists are in a different category. Thus Tadeusz Krempowiecki who had evinced definite anti-Jewish tendencies died a faithful Catholic in exile. His wife's origin is not known, but it may be assumed that she was not of Frankist descent. The pro-Jewish radical Czynski was married to a French woman, presumably a Christian.⁹⁶

These data are, of course, fragmentary. However, the tendency of marrying within the fold, biologically speaking, is unmistakable. In the early stage, it would appear that Frankists did not marry other converts, their own conversion having been ideological and that of the others economically motivated. Later generations sought mates outside the group but among converts.⁹⁷ There has been enough evidence from marriages and social life to justify the Polish suspicion of the Frankists' deliberate separatism. In contrast, marriages with autochthonous Poles later furnished antisemites with "evidence" of pollution of their blood as part of a plot against Poland.

Contacts with Jews

Another solidifying factor in maintaining was contact with non-baptized Cabbalists. Such connections and the likelihood of influence of Messianic calculations most likely have temporarily reinvigorated the more mystically inclined Cabbalists and, therefore, the survivalists within the Frankist group.

Contacts of Cabbalists with Hassidim have been mentioned by a number of

⁹⁴ Mises maintains that Leon Krynski, an outstanding lawyer (b. 1847), "first broke Frankist tradition by marrying a Catholic of Slavic descent, Maria Przyłuska" (*PCPZ*, vol. ii, p. 55). Perhaps he implied the first marriage of a male, because the earliest case of exogamous marriage was that of Takla Labecka and Count Jerzy Marcin Lubomirski, with Frank's permission (*FPP*, vol. ii, pp. 120-22). This marriage was an exception, as Frank had changed his mind soon after, even about marrying non-Frankist Jews. It would appear that Frank's rule against exogamous marriages had been broken in the second generation. Thus, General Jan Dembowski (b. 1775) married a Visconti woman (*PCPZ*, vol. i, p. 98). Similarly, General Józef Szymanowski (1770-1867) married Matylda Poniatowska. Cf. his *Pamiętniki* (Memoirs), ed. by St. Schnuer-Peplowski (Lwow 1898), p. 3. For a critique of Peplowski's genealogy, see *PCPZ*, vol. i, pp. 216-18. The royal Poniatowski family was under suspicion of partial Jewish descent. (*PCPZ*, vol. ii, pp. 173-74). Szymanowski, after the Revolution of 1831, had settled in Rome and was so pious a Catholic that he had joined Pope Pius IX in his exile to Gaeta in 1848 (*ibid.*, p. 217). It is also possible that Wanda Doleńska, who married Jan Jeziorański (2nd generation) was also of non-Jewish descent (*ibid.*, pp. 197-8). For exogamous marriages in the Wolowski-Szymanowski families, cf. p. 320.

⁹⁵ Cf. n. 94.

⁹⁶ Czynski himself claimed in a letter to Lelewel, Jan. 22, 1834, that he was a fourth generation Christian, Cf. Polish National Library, Warsaw, Rapperswyl Archives, 1265. According to my calculations, he was of the third generation.

Secondary literature on Czynski does not contain the name of his wife, as, for instance, Polska Akademia Umiejętności (Polish Academy of Sciences), *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary), vol. iv (Krakow 1938), pp. 375-78, which, incidentally, avoids the mention of his Frankist origin. However, I am certain that his wife was French.

The same reticence concerning family data goes for the literature on Krempowiecki. Cf., for instance, Lukaszewicz, Witold, "Tadeusz Krempowiecki," *Wiosna ludów. Teksty i materiały źródłowe* (The Spring of Nations. Texts and Source Materials), vol. v (Warsaw 1953), pp. 49-52. There is no mention here of his Jewish origin or of his wife's name.

⁹⁷ Cf. n. 93.

authorities. There is also the understandable possibility of contacts between Frankists and Hassidim,⁹⁸ undoubtedly in the process of boring from within.

An 1857 interpretation by a Frankist adherent was cited above.⁹⁹ The Church of Scotland missionaries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans in 1839 reported on Tarnik and anti-nomian tendencies among Jews. One item may well be a clue to continued Frankist activities.

In Jassy, an old man, an "Epicurus," told the missionaries that "both he and his son belonged to a secret society in Tarnopol . . . , with the chief rabbi there at its head. "They work like Jesuits, conforming externally to Judaism, but diffusing their principles in secret as widely as possible . . . This young man himself is tutor in six of the wealthy Jewish families in Jassy, whose children are entirely under his influence, hating Judaism and keeping the Christian as well as the Jewish Sabbath. Another is baptized and is enjoined to bring up the youth as a Christian."¹⁰⁰ The problem of possible Sabbataian-Frankist influences among the non-baptized *maskilim* is still to be investigated. The report is very likely exaggerated but need not be completely disbelieved.

There is little information about contacts of émigré Frankists with Jews in the middle of the nineteenth century. Here they obviously had been more free to mingle with Jews. Noteworthy is a report in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Juden-tums* in 1838 that Koreff and Wolowski (probably Louis, the most famous in the family abroad) presented Fr. 24,000 to the Chief Rabbi of Paris for distribution among the poor Jews. A few weeks later Wolowski was identified as a Frankist.¹⁰¹ Interest in Jewish charities need not always be viewed by itself as evidence of interest in Jews or Judaism. In the present connection, it surely indicates the need of further research on the Wolowski family in France, where some documents of interest may perchance still be available.

I have described Czynski's activities on behalf of Jewish emancipation and regeneration elsewhere.¹⁰² Czynski appears to have been a rationalist liberal who

⁹⁸ Rabinowitz, Zeev, "About Sepher Ha-Tsoreph of R. Joshua Heshel Tzoref," *Tziyon*, vol. vi (1951), pp. 80-84; Dubnow, Simon, "Hassidim Who Trespassed the Gate," *Hashiloach*, vol. vii (1901), pp. 314-20, in the light of the comments of Kahana, David, "The Hassidim and Frank's Sect," *ibid.*, pp. 569-70 and the editor's (Ahad Ha-Am's) remarks, *ibid.*, 570-71; Scholem, *BIP*, pp. 63-64; Tishbi, Isaiah, "Between Sabbataism and Hassidism . . . , " *Knesseth, op. cit.*, vol. ix (1945), pp. 338-368; Dinabourg, Ben-Zion, "Hassidism's Beginnings and Its Social and Messianic Foundations," *B'mifneh ha-dorot* . . . (At the Turn of Generations. Studies and Inquiries in the Beginnings of Modern Times in Jewish History) (Jerusalem 1955), pp. 159ff; reprinted from *Tsiyon*, vols. viii, ix, x (1943-45).

⁹⁹ Cf. n. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Bonar, Andrew A. and McCheyne, Robert Murray, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839*, ed. 2, vol. i (Edinburgh 1842), p. 218; my "Tarniks," pp. 200-01.

¹⁰¹ Vol. ii, no. 2, January 4, pp. 5-6; no. 12, January 27, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰² Cf. my "Leon Hollaenderski's Statement of Resignation. A Document of the Great Polish Emigration," *JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES*, vol. xv (1953), pp. 293-302; my "The Polish Political Emigres and the Jews in 1848," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, vol. xxiv (1955), pp. 73, 95-96; "The Polish Democratic Society and the Jewish Problem, 1832-46," in *JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES*, vol. xix (1957), pp. 107-09; my "The Lafayette Committee for Jewish Emancipation," *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought Presented in Honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron*, edited by J. L. Blau, P. Friedman, A. Hertzberg, and I. Mendelsohn (New York 1959), pp. 169-82; my "Prince Czartoryski, the Émigré, on the Jewish Problem," *The Joshua Bloch Memorial Volume; Studies in Booklore and History*, edited by Abraham Berger, Lawrence Marwick, Isidore S. Meyer (New York 1960), pp. 165-179. Cf. also Danielewicz, T., "Jan Czynski and his Struggle for the Equality of the Jewish Population" in *Biuletyn żydowskiego instytutu historycznego*, no. 11-12 (Warsaw July-December 1954), pp. 96-108; Swierczewska, as in note 72b and "GE," *passim*.

never denied his Jewish descent but no longer identified himself as a Jew. Nevertheless, he was interested in improving the lot of the Jews everywhere. It is not very likely that he retained any Frankist mystical beliefs. Strangely, however, some Frankist notions can be found in one of his earliest novels.¹⁰³ Whatever the case, he represents the only known person of Frankist Polish descent to have been so interested in the Jewish people.

The most important Frankist émigrés were Franciszek Wolowski and his son Ludwik (Louis). In the homeland Franciszek had been known for his conservatism. In the Sejm he had been opposed to raising the peasant problem and to Jewish emancipation. Handelsman traced his first objection to his position as a representative of the new nobility that had but recently acquired landed estates. His opposition to Jewish emancipation may have been due to Frankist anti-Jewishness, to self-protective coloring as a Frankist, and possibly also to the fear that Jewish equality might bring difficulties to the Frankists in Polish society. Wolowski also advocated civil marriages, definitely not in line with his general conservatism.¹⁰⁴ This may have been due to his desire to enable the Frankists to dispense with the Catholic ceremony.

In the Emigration, Wolowski continued his conservative policy through identification with the monarchist wing. He was not known for his friendship to Jews.^{104*}

I have identified the aforementioned half-Christian half-Jewish sect as Frankist.¹⁰⁵ There is no doubt about early contacts of Frankists with the Doenmeh. The possibility of Frankist contacts with Tarniks may not be too far-fetched. The Tarniks' popularity in the Near East may point to connections in the 1830's between the Frankists and the Doenmehs who continued the study of the Zohar, in view of the influences of the extremist Berukhya Doenmeh wing on the Frankists.¹⁰⁶ Scholem even mentions an oral tradition of contacts between Frankists and Berukhya's followers up to the end of the 19th century.¹⁰⁷

Clues concerning contacts between baptized and unbaptized Frankists in Poland can also be gathered from incidents in Adam Mickiewicz's life. For instance, there is a report that as a child he used to visit the unbaptized brother of

¹⁰³ The plot in his novel "Crownprince Konstanty and Marja Grudzińska or The Polish Jacobins" exaggerates the influence of the Jews in Poland at the time of the 1830 Insurrection and reminds one of a reversion to the old Frankist tradition and the false messiah's dreams of glory. To cite: "The treasures of the entire world are in our hands. We have numbers, strength, sense, understanding, gold. God will give us a leader, and on the ruins of paganism and on the wreckage of thrones we will build altars to justice and to God." (p. 73). The Polish title of the novel is *Cesarzewicz Konstanty i Marja Grudzińska czyli jakubini polscy*. Quotation from the Leipzig 1876 edition. Cf. my "GE," pp. 91ff.

¹⁰⁴ Handelsman, Marcei, *Adam Czartoryski*, vol. i (Warsaw 1949), p. 158; Schiper, Ignacy, *Zydzi krolestwa polskiego w dobie powstania listopadowego* (Jews in the Polish Kingdom in the Era of the November Insurrection) (Warsaw 1932), p. 169.

^{104*} Czynski created some scandal at his funeral. Cf. *Orzel biały* (The White Eagle) (Sept. 14, 1844), p. 64.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. n. 29, 30.

¹⁰⁶ Scholem, "Berukhya, the Head of the Sabbataians in Salonica," *Tsiyon*, n.s., vol. vi (1940-41), pp. 63, 144ff, 189ff, 192, 196; *idem*, *Major Trends*, p. 321.

¹⁰⁷ Scholem, *BIP*, p. 75.

his maternal grandfather.^{107a} Such visits, dating back, presumably to the first decade or two of the 18th century, could have been possible only among Sabbatarians. Mickiewicz's contacts with Cabbalists as well as with Polish mystics, as for instance, the painter Oleszkiewicz, a student of the Cabbala, have been pointed out by his critics in the Emigration.^{107b}

Poland in Frank's Teachings

Frank's teachings about Poland reveal some reasons for both the Sect's duration and assimilation.

His published writings show Frank's view on Poland as the terrain for the realization of his prophecies of world rule. Poland, the shelter for the erstwhile "Moslem" Frankists who had been persecuted by the Turks and the Jews, loomed high as a Promised Land among the material inducements that had to be reiterated to the faithful in order to sustain their perseverance and trust under adversity and to justify to them their conversion to Catholicism. Poland was projected as a *Nachtasyl* and at times also as the true chosen land, rather than Palestine. Frank attributed most mysterious purposes to his journey to Poland and to his stay there in his fanciful tales. He told that mysterious voices, Elijah, and, finally, Jesus himself, had forced him to go there.¹⁰⁸ That country had been chosen because of its material and spiritual aspects and mystical connections, for "in Poland is hidden the wealth of the entire world."¹⁰⁹

It is possible that Frank, the psychopath, either had the ambition of becoming King of Poland, or merely pretended to negotiate on this subject in order to encourage his followers.¹¹⁰ During his incarceration in Czeszochowa, Frank boasted that with his army of the faithful he would overthrow the Polish king. "If you had kept yourselves whole," he told his followers, "I would have been now the King of Poland." A realistic view of such meanderings that have been interpreted as attempts at bold political moves can be gathered from Frank's hints concerning his forthcoming occupation of the thrones of the Holy Roman and Ottoman Empires, not to speak of his prophecies of becoming the world's ruler.¹¹¹ He also claimed credit for Poland's partition. Such talk turned out to be later grist for

^{107a} To quote from an item in *Nowy Dziennik* (New Journal) (Krakow, December 14, 1931) (*PCPZ*, vol. ii, p. 123): "In a lecture delivered a few years ago before the Krakowskie Kolegium Wykładów Naukowych (Krakow Collegium of Scientific Lectures), Haecker mentioned the extraordinarily interesting story that during his childhood Mickiewicz spent his vacations with the brother of his maternal grandfather, who was an unbaptized Jew. When the writer of these words (the reporter for *Nowy Dziennik*) later turned to the lecturer with the question whether he would publish these most interesting but unknown details, editor Haecker answered with bitterness that because the lecture had brought upon him so much unpleasantness, he would not like to expose himself again."

^{107b} Cf. n. 141 and Morawski, *WP* (as in n. 177), pp. 111-51.

¹⁰⁸ *FFP*, vol. i, p. 62-64; vol. ii, pp. 185-86, 313, 332, 367. Hersch Tsoreff's prediction of the North (Poland and Russia) as the locale for the redemption's beginnings was also shared by the Hassidim. Cf. Aesoly, A. Z., "Several Remarks on the History of Sabbataian Movements," *Sinai*, vol. xii (1943), pp. 90-91.

¹⁰⁹ *FFP*, vol. ii, p. 365; cf. also vol. i, p. 67; vol. ii, pp. 38, 66, 123-25, 330, 338, 364, 365.

¹¹⁰ Kraushar hints at Frank's "negotiations" about Poland throne with Austria's Joseph II. *FFP*, vol. ii, p. 38.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

the mills of the antisemites.¹¹² For the Frankists, however, it created a mood of receptivity for assimilation into Polish culture. Belief in the election of Poland, a ready substitute for the Holy Land, helped to check reversions to Judaism by the doubtful. It also prepared the sectaries to belief in Polish messianism and furnished a historical precedent for working out syntheses between Jewishness and Polishness. These found their expression later on in Towianism, as exemplified by Mickiewicz's approach to this movement.¹¹³

The Towianist movement appealed to Mickiewicz because he could work out within its theosophic framework his doctrine of the Polish-Jewish symbiosis. It should have attracted the Frankists. However, no Frankist names appear among Towianski's followers. Evidently Towianski had no attraction for the Frankists, whose messiah had been expected to come from amidst their own group through the transmigration of Frank's soul. This resistance to Towianism may again be viewed as proof of the continuity of some Frankist traditions.^{113a}

Early in the twentieth century, Neo-Towianism offered a similar basis for a sincere assimilation into Polishness and Catholicism for some mystically inclined escapist Jews.¹¹⁴ The Frankist experience is responsible for theories about the creation of a new improved Polish people, through Polish-Jewish intermarriages.¹¹⁵ As I had written:

those who had emancipated themselves from orthodox Frankism could still have retained some notions of Poland's election. Such notions would eventually be transformed on a rational level into the less mystical mystique of Polish patriotism, mostly in terms of liberal nationalism. However, during the transition stage—from the self-chosen initiates of the secret Cabbalistic Higher Torah into followers of the ideology of liberal Polish nationalism, on the one hand, and the seeming majority of deliberate assimilationist Catholics on the other—very likely several shades of Frankist orthodoxy and non-orthodoxy emerged. Frankists of all types, the more or less really assimilated in Polishness and Catholicism, as well as the faithful "orthodox" Frankist minority, would naturally have been receptive to Polish messianism and would have been instrumental in spreading it among the Poles. Because of the Frankist sympathy for the French Revolution and its anti-papal action, Napoleonism offered particular attraction for some of the Frankists.¹¹⁶

¹¹² The antisemitic uses of Frank's prophecies have been under-estimated by historians. Thus Zygmunt Krasiński's *Undivine Comedy* (1835) is one of the earliest antecedents of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. (Cf. my "MJ," pp. 53-54) The fabrication of this plot by the tsarist officialdom very likely stems from its long interest in the Frankists, as revealed in several publications. Cf. n. 38, 169.

¹¹³ Cf. my "MJ"; and my "GE," chapters on Towiański and Mickiewicz.

^{113a} Mickiewicz's adherence to Towianism was the cause for his break with Franciszek Wołowski. Mickiewicz, "Mother," *PW* (as in n. 77) (Sept. 1926), p. 405.

¹¹⁴ Shatzky, *In shotn, op. cit.*, pp. 30-45; my "GE," p. 226.

Some pro-Towianist writings by converted Jews are: Baumfeld, Andrzej, *Andrzej Towiański. Dwa odczyty* (Andrzej Towiański. Two Lectures) (Lwów 1904); *idem, Towiański i towianizm* (Towiański and Towianism) (Kraków 1908); Muttermilch, Wacław Bojomir, *Na przełomie dwóch epoch* (At the Turn of Two Epochs) (Kraków 1916); *idem, Mesyanizm polski a kościół katolicki* (Polish Messianism and the Catholic Church) (Kraków 1916); *idem, Parakletyzm (epoka Ducha Świętego) a kwestja żydowska* (Paracletism [The Epoch of the Holy Spirit] and the Jewish Problem) (Warsaw 1920).

¹¹⁵ Cf. the case of Antoni Lange, *PCPZ*, vol. ii, pp. 62-70.

¹¹⁶ Cited from my "MJ," p. 56.

The French Revolution and Napoleon

Frank prophesied the coming of a "great war," to be followed by the overthrow of governments, the work of "the second Jacob," himself. Then, he foretold, the "true Jacob will gather the children of his nation in the land promised to Abraham." The elect will be joined by many foreigners, particularly from Greece, [-Doenmeh?] who will show "that they have been worshipping the true Jacob among the other religions." Entire nations [possibly Gentiles] will also join. "Jacob will take the place of Esau . . . and will rule with his children eternally over those who not long ago were their oppressors."¹¹⁷ Frank also spoke of military preparations for Jews in the *Das Edom* (this time, the Christian Faith) to begin from the age of six, "with ten million soldiers among the Jews and at least one million from the nations."¹¹⁸ In 1790, he spoke of teaching women the arts of war.¹¹⁹

The French Revolution was understandingly interpreted by him as the harbinger of the day of the "clever Jacob."

Albert Mathiez referred to two "minor figures" in the Austrian faction, "Siegmond Gottlob and Emmanuel Dobruska who had been contractors to the Emperor Joseph II . . . and had consequently been raised to the rank of nobles under the names of Schoenfeld," to end upon the guillotine with Danton.¹²⁰

Moses Dobruska, later Thomas Edler von Schoenfeld, also known as Junius Frey, was identified by Samuel Krauss as a leading Frankist.¹²¹ Wenzel Zacek gave further details about him. He cited an anonymous complaint against the Prague Frankists in 1799, which identified Frey as Frank's future successor. That complainant related that

the overthrow of the papal throne has given their [the Frankists'] daydreams plenty of nourishment. They say openly, this is the sign of the coming of the Messiah, since their chief belief consists of this. Sabathe Zebe was saviour, will always remain the saviour, but always under a different shape. General Bonaparte's conquests gave nourishment to their superstitious teachings. His conquests in the Orient, especially the conquest of Palestine, of Jerusalem, his appeal to the Israelites is oil on their fire, and here, it is believed, lies the connection between them and between the French society (Franceschen).¹²²

Clearly, Napoleon's rise was a great portent in the eyes of the more staunchly Cabbalistic sectaries. The ostensible conflict between Napoleon's Jewish state

¹¹⁷ *FFP*, vol. ii, pp. 40, 312, 321, 345, 367.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹²⁰ *The French Revolution* (New York 1929), pp. 408, 419, 463.

¹²¹ Cf. Krauss, Samuel, "Jacob Frank's Sons and the French Revolution," *Ha-doar*, vol. xxv, no. 8 (Dec. 28, 1945), pp. 192-93, where he refers to his own book, *Joachim Edler von Popper* (Vienna 1926), and to his article on "Shoendl Dobruschka," *Festschrift Aaron Kaminka zum Siebzigsten Geburtstage* (Vienna 1937), pp. 143-48. Krauss brings out that the Frey brothers were the children of Solomon and Sheindel Dobruska of Brno, in whose house Frank had been living. Cf. also Kisch, Egon Erwin, "Danton's Death and Popper's Nephew," *Tales from Seven Ghettos* (London 1948), pp. 21-41, a good summary based on the French police dossier, but regrettably not documented and, strangely, without mention of Frankism. On Dr. Jacob Weinschal's discovery in French archives of Frey's cabbalistic and other writings, some in Hebrew and Yiddish, cf. Carr, Maurice, "Jewish Lore in French Revolution," *The Day* (August 6, 1950), p. 8, syndicated by the *Jewish Chronicle*, London.

¹²² "Zwei Beitrage zur Geschichte des Frankismus in den boehmischen Laendern," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte der Juden in der Czechoslovakischen Republik* vol. ix (Prague 1938), pp. 348-410. Citation from p. 405.

plans and Frank's seeming denial of restoration in the Holy Land, can be explained by some of his "Zionist" predictions. Certainly, the more Jewish-centered German Frankists could easily adjust to a Napoleonist Zionism.

Some view the false Messiah as a *Realpolitiker* who tried to utilize the partitions of Poland and predictions of Turkey's downfall in order to emancipate the Jews and restore them to the Holy Land. There are conjectures about his attempts to contact the great powers. The military training of his followers is interpreted as preparation for participation in Turkey's partitions. In other words, Frank is viewed as a forerunner of Zionism.¹²³

Napoleon's Jewish propaganda was watched by Jewish leaders and even more carefully by the Church and state authorities, especially during his Palestine campaign in 1799 and the French Sanhedrin adventure in 1806-07. His "Jewish revival" raised the cry of "false Messiah" and "anti-Christ" among Austrian, Russian and Prussian politicians, the Russian Holy Synod as well as satires in the American press.¹²⁴ Scholem cites the Frey case as an example of Frankist involvement in the French Revolution.¹²⁵ It is not easy, however, to distinguish between Frankism and mere finance adventurism in this particular case.

Younger Polish Frankists, involved in Polish culture, were affected by the vogue of Napoleonism due to Bonaparte's establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw, a symbol of Poland to be fully revived and expanded. Just as Napoleon's death failed to end pro-Napoleonism among many nations, evidently belief in him or in his successors did not cease among some Frankists, to whom Napoleon presented a connecting link between Cabbalism and Polonism.

While the Frankists interest in Napoleon can be accepted as a fact, it is not as easy to estimate its extent at about 1839, when Hoene-Wronski's writings elicited Mickiewicz's statement on the half Christian, half Jewish, Napoleonist sect.¹²⁶

In connection with this, I have brought out the possibility of Frankist re-

¹²³ Cf. Bosak, Meir, "Mickiewicz, Frank and the Conquest of Eretz-Israel," *Molad*, vol. xiii, no. 87 (October 1955), pp. 440-43, in which Frank's sentiments for restoration in Palestine are interpreted as the motivation for his talk about Poland's importance and the need for military preparations. Bosak also traces the origin of Mickiewicz's Jewish Legion to Frank's emphasis on military action. He may be correct. However, there is no trace of Jewish restorationist sentiment in Mickiewicz's published writings. Unless new material is discovered, it is clear that Mickiewicz's Frankist synthesis was exclusively Poland-centered. Cf. my "JV," pp. 354-57.

For a fictional presentation of Frank as a Zionist forerunner, cf. Weinschall, Jacob, *Anakim ba-midbar* (Giants in the Desert) (Tel Aviv 1952), pp. 213-24.

On Frank's "Zionism," cf. also Scholem, "Mitzvah," pp. 378-79.

¹²⁴ Gelber, N. M., "Napoleon I and Palestine," in *Sepher Dinabourg. Kovetz divrei iyun u-mechkar* (The Dinabourg Volume. A Collection of Items of Study and Research) (Jerusalem 1949), p. 282.

Metternich reported seriously on the Jews' view of Napoleon as their Messiah, as did Stadion, who suspected the "Klasse der Eleganten," rather than the Orthodox, of such thoughts. The Russian *Vestnik Evropy* attacked Napoleon as a new Sabbatai Zevi. Napoleon's new messianic role was also the butt of the American press (*ibid.*, pp. 282, 284, 286). Cf. also Ginzburg, Saul, *Otechestvennaya voina 1812 goda i russkie Evrei* (The Patriotic War of 1812 and the Russian Jews) (St. Petersburg 1914), pp. 26-43; Rivkind, Isaac, "External Sources" in *Kovetz ha-yovel shel histadrut ha-mizrachi b'America* (Jubilee Volume of the Mizrachi Organization of America (New York 1935), reprint, pp. 1-3; see Baron, Salo W., *Religion and Nationalism* (New York 1947), p. 175, for an extensive quotation. Cf. also Shulim, Joseph J., "Napoleon I as the Jewish Messiah: Some Contemporary Conceptions in Virginia," *JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES*, vol. vii. (1945), pp. 275-80.

¹²⁵ *Major Trends*, pp. 320, 421.

¹²⁶ My "MJ," p. 57.

vival of hopes as a result of the spread of the Jewish Tarnik Messianic movement in 1839, whose followers expected the coming of the Messiah in the year 5600-ת"ר, TAR, 1839-40, on the basis of a Zohar prediction. Evidently, the Tarnik movement had been sufficiently serious to arouse the fear of Eastern Europe's rabbinical leadership lest the Messiah's non-appearance result in mass apostasy, as in the case of Sabbatai Zevi.^{126a}

Further research should shed light on this problem.

Participation in Polish Revolutionary Activities

The rapid acculturation of the Frankists is testified by the participation of some of them in the Kosciuszko Insurrection of 1794, about one generation since the mass baptism. The number of notable participants was small. This may be due to the Frankists' greater involvement in their own group life and their burden of support of Frank, Eve and their own poorer brethren which have checked the economic rise of many. Such participation should not necessarily be interpreted in terms of assimilation in view of Frank's teachings concerning Poland and the French Revolution. There is also the personal element of adjustment to greater participation in the life of the environing society which must have varied from individual to individual. Therefore, such limited participation indicates the progress of Polonization, and, perhaps also, the beginnings of genuine Polish patriotism among the Frankists.¹²⁷

Jan Dembowski was a prominent leader of the radical wing, although he was described as a legitimist. This is of particular interest to us, as the index to Boguslaw Lesnodorski's "Polish Jacobins," does not include names of the leading Frankist families.¹²⁸ It would appear that the Jakubowskis and the Majewskis were of pre-Frankist Christian vintage,¹²⁹ although the evidence is not conclusive. The very famous or notorious Jakub Jasinski most likely was also of a family that had been baptized before Frank.¹³⁰

It may not require too much strain to attribute the military participation of the younger Frankists to Frank's teachings about military preparedness. Scholem brings out the fact that George Alexander Matuszewicz, Dutch artillery commander under Napoleon, was the son of a leading Frankist.¹³¹

A generation or so later Frankists were very active in the Insurrection of

^{126a} Cf. My "Tarniks."

¹²⁷ Among the names on record included on the basis of Mieses' PCPZ are Captain Józef Czyński (2nd gen.), son of Eva's secretary (vol. i, p. 59); Captain Jan Krysiński (2nd gen.), General in the 1831 Insurrection (vol. ii, p. 45); Maciej Krysiński (2nd gen.), non-commissioned officer (*ibid.*, p. 55). Captain Jan Dembowski, revolutionary leader and secretary to Ignacy Potocki, was later a general in Napoleon's army and Governor of Ferrara. His namesake, Joachim Dembowski, was adjutant to Prince Joseph Poniatowski. According to Mieses' surmises, both were Frankists (*ibid.*, pp. 97-98). However, their Frankist descent is still open to question.

¹²⁸ Lesnodorski, Boguslaw, *Polscy jacobini. Karta z dziejów insurekcji 1794 roku* (Polish Jacobins. A Card from the History of the Insurrection of the Year 1794), (Warsaw 1960). There is no mention in it of the following families, Brzeziński, Jeziorański, Krempowiecki, Labecki, Matuszewski, Szymanowski, Wolowski.

¹²⁹ PCPZ, vol. i, pp. 178, 112-13.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91. The information on the Jasiński family is particularly skimpy in this work, but antisemitic historians identify him as a Frankist. (cf. n. 146). Is it possible that Lesnodorski had disregarded antisemitic works because of his reluctance to raise the problem of the Jewish descent of some of the revolutionaries?

¹³¹ BIP, p. 71. His name is not mentioned in PCPZ.

1830-31. Again the number of radicals such as Czynski and Krempowiecki was rather small. Most Frankists were on the moderate or conservative side, as for instance, Labecki, Niemirowski, Jezioranski, the Wolowskis.¹³²

The number of Frankist participants in the 1863 Insurrection is too large to be listed.¹³³ Their motivation had very likely been Polish patriotic rather than Frankist mystical.

Cabbalistic Contacts with Poles

Frank's sayings contain admonitions to his followers that they should "go among the Gentiles, adopt their language and mores and associate with them." He hinted at conversion of the Gentiles through integration with his *maaminim*.¹³⁴ In this connection cognizance must be taken of the interest in Cabbalah in Eastern Europe at the end of the 18th century and during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁵ Contacts through the pursuit of mystic calculations and alchemy sometimes led to strong pro-Jewish sympathies. A case, notorious in the eyes of Polish historians, was that of Prince Marcin Mikołaj Radziwiłł (1705-81), who during his incarceration in Sluck, reportedly observed kashrut. He even spent one night with Joseph Frank.¹³⁶ Prince Lubomirski's interest in Frankism that led to his marriage to a Frankist is mentioned elsewhere.¹³⁷

Contacts between Sabbataians and Poles

There is a plausible case for contacts in the 19th century between Catholics and unbaptized Frankist or non-Frankist Sabbatians. The story of Mickiewicz's

¹³² Following are names of some participants, based on Mises' *PCPZ*, vol. i: Jan Brzeziński (3rd generation) (p. 59); Jan Czyński (1801-67) (3rd gen.), Colonel, democratic radical leader and émigré defender of the Jews (pp. 83-92); Jakub Jasiński (3rd gen.), physician; his brother Adam (3rd gen.), General Dwernicki's Adjutant General (pp. 191-2). The following are on the basis of *PCPZ*, vol. ii: Tadeusz Krempowiecki (2nd or 3rd generation), army commander, radical, Christian socialist and antisemite (pp. 23-32); General Jan Krysiński (captain in 1793 Revolution), (pp. 45-47); Dominik Krasinski (2nd gen.) Sejm deputy, financial expert, progressive opposition leader (pp. 48-54); Idelfons Krysiński, military physician and emigre (p. 55); [?] Krysiński, adjutant to Gen. Gielgud (p. 56); Aleksander Krysiński, adjutant to General Romarino (p. 56); Dr. Alfons Krysiński, chief physician of an Army Corps (p. 56); Dr. Stanisław Wolowski, physician of General Staff (p. 260); Franciszek Wolowski (2nd gen.), outstanding conservative Sejm leader, émigré (pp. 262-70); Ludwik Wolowski (3rd gen.), artillery captain, émigré, economist, deputy in French parliament, financier (pp. 270-73).

¹³³ Of the numerous participants in the 1863 Insurrection, the following are especially worthy of mention: General Antoni Jeziorański, military hero and influential political figure (b. 1827) (*PCPZ*, vol. i, p. 199); and Jan Jeziorański (b. 1833), Commissioner of Communication of the Revolutionary Government, who was hanged by the Russians together with Dictator Traugutt on September 5, 1864 (*ibid.*, p. 200).

¹³⁴ E.g., *FFP*, vol. ii, p. 364.

¹³⁵ Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, vol. ii, book i, pp. 391, 395 n.; even in greater detail, in his *Juliusz Słowacki. Dzieje twórczości* (Juliusz Słowacki. History of Creativity), vol. iv, book i (Lwów 1927), pp. 97-98; Ujejski, Józef, *Król nowego Izraela* (The King of New Israel) (Warsaw 1924), p. 49. Cf. also my "GE," chapters on Towiański and Mickiewicz, where relationships of Poles with the various mystic groups (Naundorfists, et al.), including some Jewish influences, are brought out.

¹³⁶ His "religious aberration" led him first to interest in metempsychosis and later to a search for a "better religion." He studied Yiddish and Hebrew and surrounded himself with Jews, who supposedly occupied almost all the positions in his court. He was involved in all kinds of escapades, including manslaughter. Cf. Bartoszewicz, Kazimierz, *Radziwiłłowie* (The Radziwiłłs) (Warsaw 1928), pp. 88-101; Scholem, *BPI*, p. 44; *FFP*, vol. i, p. 162.

¹³⁷ Cf. n. 94.

contacts in his childhood with a Jewish relative¹³⁸ falls within this category, if we are to take for granted at least his partial Jewish descent. The rabbi who entertained the company in the home of Mme. Wereszczaka, where Mickiewicz used to visit summers, was surely more typical of Cabbalistic sectaries, rather than of a truly Orthodox rabbi,¹³⁹ thus testifying to Cabbalistic propagandists among non-Jews. References by contemporaries to Mickiewicz's acquaintance with Cabbalistic teachings have led to suspect him of Jewish contacts. The poet, Lucjan Siemiński, expressed the belief that Mickiewicz knew Cabbalah.¹⁴⁰ Father Hieronim Kajsiwicz, who knew Mickiewicz well, maintained that while in Russia, the poet had been in close contact with St. Martinists . . . and was always in the "company of dreamers of various sorts, even with Jewish Cabbalists."¹⁴¹ Mickiewicz evidently continued to display similar interest while in exile even before his conversion to Towianism. Similarly, Towianist associations with Jews "who have always been awaiting the Messiah and who have awaited him in Napoleon, etc." were pointed out in Mickiewicz's presence by Kajsiwicz in a sermon at Sunday services in Paris late in 1842, according to a letter by the poet to Towiański.¹⁴² This also reveals that the emigres were generally aware of Mickiewicz's associations with "Jewish" Napoleonist sectaries. It is possible that Kajsiwicz had on his mind baptized or non-baptized Frankists, who emphasized Napoleonism prior to 1840.

Frankists and Secret Societies

A common area of association between Frankists and Gentiles were the secret orders, popular in these days among the Poles of the upper classes. Scholem has called attention to contacts between non-baptized Frankists and orders, such as the Freemasons, "Ordre des Elus Coens," the St. Martinists and similar ones based on the Cabbalah.¹⁴³ There are ample references to the participation of baptized Frankists in the Polish lodges, which became much stronger following the French Revolution through contacts with the West. Shatzky brought out the importance of the lodge "Under Three Shields," during the Quadrennial Sejm, of which Colonel Berek Joselewicz, who organized the Jewish Legion during Kosciuszko's rebellion had been a member. To cite, "True, the prevalent attitude towards the Jews was not a warm one. However, the sympathies towards the 'false

¹³⁸ Cf. n. 107a.

¹³⁹ To cite the poet's revelation to E. Januszkiewicz: "More than once have I heard Mme Wereszczaka's conversation with the rabbi, a learned and dignified Jew, whose memory I wished to preserve in the figure of Jankiel." (*DW*, S, vol. xvi, p. 255). Again he told Januszkiewicz about his frequent visits to Pluzyny. "There was also in the neighborhood a very learned rabbi, who was accepted in our society, and from whom I have learned many things, hitherto unknown to me." (*Zywot*, vol. i, p. 44; Pigoń, in *DW*, S, vol. xvi., p. 255, placed this reference to the rabbi in a note but not in the text.) Mickiewicz told Chodzko of Pluzyny, where "all [were] trying at steady entertainment. Rabbi, Doctor, priest, types, loves, romances." (*ibid*, p. 223).

Towiański, too, had contacts with Jews even in his Wilno stage. (Cf. my "GE," pp. 508ff.).

¹⁴⁰ *Religijność i mistyka w życiu i poezjach Mickiewicza* (Religiosity and Mysticism in Mickiewicz's Life and Poetry), p. 138, cited in Kleiner, *Mickiewicz*, vol. ii, book 1, p. 395, note 2.

¹⁴¹ Smolikowski, Paweł, *Historja zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania pańskiego* (History of the Order of the Lord's Resurrection), vol. iii (Krakow 1896), pp. 427-28.

¹⁴² Letter dated December 1842, *DW*, PR, vol. xi, p. 345.

¹⁴³ "Ein verschollener . . ." as in n. 1 (his pp. 254ff).

Messiah Jacob Frank were not small."¹⁴⁴ "The converted Jews in the Lodge 'The Capitol of the Rose and the Golden Cross' would look out after the interest of their group. Therefore it had been the target of the attacks of the burgher press."¹⁴⁵ It is difficult here to isolate the Frankist ingredients in the numerous accusations of the antisemitic historians of a Frankist-masonic plot against Poland from the second half of the 18th century at least until World War II,¹⁴⁶ if not later. Here again is another area for research on Frankist contacts.¹⁴⁷

Acceptance of the Frankists in Polish Society

One can agree with Swierczewska that "the Frankist movement met on the whole with the approval of the Catholics."¹⁴⁸ This is seen in the avidity of important persons of the nobility to act as the godfathers at the baptism of the Frankists.¹⁴⁹ This welcome was considerably dampened with the Frankists' separatism and whenever their economic rise threatened the native Poles or other Christian newcomers. While Polonization and the economic rise of the Frankist had brought about their social acceptance on increasingly higher levels, resentment against them continued. Thus Kraszewski stated that after the first Partition "there had been perhaps greater fear of the so-called Frankists, recently converted, than of the Israelites."¹⁵⁰

The ample pamphlet and newspaper literature testifies to this.¹⁵¹ Converts, including the Frankists, were accused in 1794 of treason and espionage on behalf of Russia,¹⁵² with attempts at pogroms. There is evidence concerning the lack of popularity of the converts, even in folk sayings.¹⁵³ Ambivalence is seen in the respect accorded to prosperous and prominent Frankists early in the 19th century. This will be brought out particularly in connection with the Wolowski-Szymanowska families.¹⁵⁴ Still, social acceptance of Frankists came by degrees, particularly under the Tsarist regime of the Kingdom of Poland. Emperor Alexander's spy Henryk Macrott reported to him their doings. Some reports contain possible leads to their social acceptance.

¹⁴⁴ Shatzky, *Warsaw*, vol. i, p. 89. Shatzky also mentions a long debate in 1782 "in which Polish Jews had been criticized because with the exception of Frank and the London Cabbalist Falk . . . they did not understand Cabbala." The documentation is not clear.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Cf., e.g., Didier, Stanisław, *Rola neofitów w dziejach Polski* (The Role of the Neophytes in Polish History) (Warsaw 1934); and below, pp. 331-32.

¹⁴⁷ The problem of Masonic contacts of the Frankists still has to be investigated; it had been treated mainly from the antisemitic point of view. For literature, see the antisemitic Chelmiński, Bolesław, *Masoneria w Polsce współczesnej* (Masonry in Contemporary Poland) (Warsaw 1936), pp. 187-99; Shatzky, *Warsaw*, vol. i, p. 89, n. 5.

For an "expose" of the masonic plot in 1830, cf. Michalow, Georgios. *Die geheime Werkstaette der polnischen Erhebung von 1830. Mit Streiflichtern auf Russland und Polen* (Amberg and Leipzig 1877).

¹⁴⁸ Swierczewska, p. 112, as in n. 72a.

¹⁴⁹ *FFP*, vol. i, pp. 144-220.

¹⁵⁰ Kraszewski, J. I., *Polska w czasie trzech rozbiorów 1772-1799 Studya do historii ducha i obyczaju* (Poland during the Times of the Three Partitions 1772-1799. Studies in the History of Spirit and Custom), vol. ii (Warsaw 1902), pp. 232-33. He cites a memorial on behalf of the confraternities and guilds complaining that the "sectary neophytes of Frank deprive the burghers of means of livelihood in every way, not acquiring property, and they send out ready cash from the country."

¹⁵¹ Cf. Smoleński (as in note 80), pp. 57-58, n. 1, 93; *FFP*, vol. i, p. 22.

¹⁵² Shatzky, *Warsaw*, vol. i, p. 111.

¹⁵³ Ringelblum, *Kosciuszko*, pp. 184 ff., especially pp. 188-191, notes 2, 16, 19, 22 (where Dembowski is identified as a "convert"), 24.

¹⁵⁴ See pp. 318ff.

According to Beer, the Tsar even issued a ukase on March 25, 1817, ordering the group to be officially called "Frankists."^{154a}

Thus, Macrott compared the more enthusiastic reception accorded to the Italian, Mme. Katalani in Krzemieniec, to Szymanowska's cooler reception there. "The middle class of citizens" in Warsaw was more enthusiastic about the latter, he stated.¹⁵⁵ The implication is obvious. He also reported [Alexander Andrzej] Wolowski's challenge of a pistol duel to one Bonawentura Zabokrzycki. The latter preferred swords.¹⁵⁶

The acceptance of the Frankists in Polish society is also seen in the 1828 law students' boycott of a professor because he had insulted [Franciszek] Wolowski, the latter Sejm deputy, with the consequence of his exclusion from the University.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the suspicion that the brewer Franciszek Wolowski reported to the police a patriotic incident involving his relative Lanckoronski, Warsaw Lyceum professor, resulted in antisemitic "Hep, Hep" street cries.¹⁵⁸

There was no lack of anti-Frankist incidents in times of crisis and contention. For instance, in 1831, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz pointed in public to Dominik Krysiński, crying out, "He is a Jew!" Krysiński in turn called Niemcewicz: "You old aristocratic sponger." If not for the intervention of others, he "would have had broken his head or wounded him severely."^{158a}

During the Insurrection of 1830-31, "radicalism, a sort of a nationalist-political maximalism, was ascribed to Frankist descendants," stated Shatzky.^{158b}

Hostility in the Political "Great Emigration"

There is ample evidence in émigré literature of reluctance to accept Frankists as legitimate Poles. Such distrust had been common both among the conservative and democratic elements. Thus the young right winger Ignacy Domejko in his report of a Democrats' meeting described "one Krempowiecki . . . a true Jew by appearance; darkish, crosseyed, as if looking from the side and biting." He related furthermore that "when I heard this proud nerry convert point out Poland as the oppressor of the common people . . . my blood congealed. Cold perspiration came out on my face, I covered my eyes, and many of our people ran away."¹⁵⁹

Mickiewicz, too, joined the attack against the Frankists, although and perhaps because he himself was of Frankist descent. Following Czyski's criticism

^{154a} Beer, p. 340, as in n. 17.

¹⁵⁵ Syga and Szenic, MS, p. 155.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 465-60.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-67.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 479-80.

^{158a} Jan Niepomucen Janowski, peasant lad and later revolutionary leader and literateur, taught in 1824 the two boys of the brewer Michael Brzezinski and Joanna Wolowska, Maria Szymanowska's sister. He omits any reference to their Frankist ancestry. Cf. *Notatki autobiograficzne 1803-1853* (Autobiographical Notes, 1803-1853), ed. by Marian Tyrowicz (Wrocław 1950), p. 72. He mentions, however, the "neophyte" background of Dominik Krysiński in his coverage of the "historical, completely unknown fact" of the insult (p. 189-90).

^{158b} Shatzky, *Warsaw*, vol. i, p. 299.

¹⁵⁹ Treściak, Józef, ed., *Pamiętniki Ignacego Domejki* (Memoirs of Ignacy Domejko) (Kraków 1908), p. 165.

In 1832, Podczaszynski described the "Republican party" in a letter to Mochnacki as consisting of "two Mecheses, one priest, one insance individual . . ." Cf. Mochnacki, *Dziela* (Poznań 1863), p. 101 and my "GE," pp. 77-8. The Mecheses were Czyski and Krempowiecki.

of the poet's conservatism and pro-clericalism,¹⁶⁰ Mickiewicz parried with the notorious quatrain *W pol jest Zydem, w pol Polakiem*, that very likely expressed the folk attitude towards the Frankists in Polish society, and therefore is worthy of reproduction in English in this free translation:

One half Jew, half a Pole,
One half Jacobin, half a tramp
One half martial, half in civilian's role
But to match it, fully a scamp.¹⁶¹

Krempowiecki was attacked even more sharply. In the poem *Do Franciszka Grzymaly* (To Francis Grzymala) Krempowiecki was compared to a rabbi, "the greatest Jewish hero" who dared to hit with his metal glove the unarmed Saviour in his face when Christ was led by the Romans for contumely and scourging." He was also compared to another Jewish "hero", a Jewish leader in Mir who was admired by the "unbaptized" for his daring in showing Prince Radziwill "a fig in his pocket." Another poem about the annoying frogs and owls that had moved in a new house though there was no room for them in a place where the floor is clean and the roof is new hinted at the Frankists.¹⁶²

I have interpreted elsewhere this anti-Frankist outburst as well as the anti-Jewish tendency of other poems and of the Books of the Polish Nation of that period as Mickiewicz's own desire to disassociate himself from his Jewish descent and to denigrate the ready parallel of Israel and Poland, the two nations in Exile, which the poet had so enthusiastically espoused later.¹⁶³

J. B. Ostrowski bitterly attacked the neophytes. I shall not dwell in detail on the many incidents and discussions among the political emigres, when it came to the Jewish problem. The converted Jew played some role as a stereotype of adjustment, good or bad.^{163a}

Hostility grew sharper in the 1840's. Expressive of public opinion is a pseudonymous letter by one Balcer from Osetno, who attacked the converts, mentioning by name Krynski, former adjutant to the Commander-in-Chief in the Insurrection of 1831, "who was in the revolution a fiery Pole and now is a devoted servant of Nicholas." Another Frankist mentioned is Jakobowski. They were condemned for their radicalism and for setting a bad example for the youth in 1836.^{163b}

Interestingly, in the great dispute, called by the antisemitic historians the "Jewish War" of 1859, that had been precipitated by reactions to the continuous upward economic, social and cultural mobility of 19th century converts and assimilated Jews, the Frankists had been generally spared. At least this is the impression gained from reading Bartoszewicz's monograph. True, however, an anonymous pamphlet by one Jozef of Orchow warned I. Kraszewski after he had

¹⁶⁰ Cf. my "GE," pp. 539-540. On Czyński as the scapegoat, see n. 102; Czyński, *Israel en Pologne, Lettres Adressées aux Archives Israelites* (Extrait des Archives Israelites, nos. de Juillet, Aout, Septembre, Octobre et Novembre, 1861) (Paris 1861).

¹⁶¹ Mickiewicz, *DW*, PR, vol. i, p. 159.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

¹⁶³ Cf. my "GE," pp. 524-36 and my "MJ".

^{163a} *Nowa Polska* (New Poland), nos. 26 and 27 (May 3, 1835), pp. 341-45.

^{163b} *Trzeci Maj* (May Third) (October 17, 1846), pp. 365-66. Earlier on September 14, 1844, Czyński was attacked in *Orzel biały* (White Eagle) as a "Jewish vagabond", one among persons "without any other religion, who make money the aim of their lives." Cf. my "GE", p. 174.

taken over the editorship of *Gazeta Warszawska*, that eventually he would be left alone with "Klaczko, Wolowski and Leo, only converts (*mechesy*)."¹⁶⁴ It is not known whether the Frankists had kept out of this dispute. The name Wolowski would indicate some involvement. At any rate the antisemites had enough to do with the recent converts and left the descendants of the old ones alone. Of significance therefore is the comment in the émigré *Demokrata Polski* in 1859 that

the younger generation of the Frankists is constantly manifesting nobler hearts and loftier sentiments. And one could say bravely that the children among them are born with a true Christian nature.¹⁶⁵

However, in a letter of November 24, 1858, the venerable Andrzej Edward Kozmian wrote that he viewed [Bronislaw] Wolowski in Paris as a Jew, but not so Ludwik Wolowski. To cite: "I do not consider the later to be a Jew."^{165a} This illustrates the elasticity in the determination of true Polonization of the Frankists.

It is evident that it had taken Polish society at home and abroad a long time to accept the Frankists as true Poles and Catholics and that this process of acceptance might well have begun with the "younger generation" in the 1850's.

Group Self-Protection

Self-protective activities constituted a routine in the life of the suspect Sect both during its growth and decline. Pamphleteering and press attacks forced the Frankists to utilize the same medium for self-protection.¹⁶⁶ An example is the brochure *Odpowiedz Zazdrotnemu Cudzego Dobra* (An Answer to the One Who Is Jealous of Someone Else's Possession) written in 1790 in reply to several attacks.¹⁶⁷ An underground group has the need of keeping out of the limelight. Efforts to do this had sometimes led to opposite results. Thus, when *Biblioteka Warszawska* (Warsaw Library), a periodical, began to serialize in 1845 Baron Julius Brinken's novel, "Joseph Frank," pressure by the Frankists prevented its full publication. This, in turn, served to exaggerate the aura of mysticism that surrounded the group.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, the full text of the novel was published in 1892 in Russian by the Tsarist Ministry for Internal Affairs.¹⁶⁹ This is evidence of the government's interest in the Sect and should direct the attention of the scholar to possibilities in archival research in the U.S.S.R. Except for Shatzky's sketchy

¹⁶⁴ Bartoszewicz, Kazimierz, *Wojna zydowska w roku 1859 (Początki asymilacji i antysemityzmu)* (The Jewish War in the Year 1859 [Beginnings of Assimilation and Antisemitism]) (Warsaw 1913), p. 91. Evidently, a Wolowski had been involved in this "War." Memoirs and press studies should shed more light on this aspect.

¹⁶⁵ April 15, 1859, pp. 194-95.

^{165a} *Listy (1829-1864)* (Letters [1829-1864]) vol. iii (Lwow 1894), p. 252.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. notes 20, 78, 80.

¹⁶⁷ *FFP*, vol. i, p. 22.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2; Sulima, p. 3 n., as in note 51, where Brinken is identified as Aleksander Bronikowski (his Polish name?) and the date of *Biblioteka warszawska* issues is given as 1840 ("III, vol. 99"). I had no access to the *Biblioteka*.

On Brinken, cf. also Beth-David (Dawidson), M. M., "Another Source about Jacob Frank," *He-avar*, no. 2 (1954), pp. 139-41, which includes a summary of Brinken's book in *Yug* (The South) (Odessa February 1882), pp. 177-79. Frank is presented as a forerunner of enlightenment. Beth-David also wrote on the same subject, "The Transformation of a False Messiah," *Ha-doar*, vol. xxix, no. 2 (1959), pp. 364-65.

¹⁶⁹ *Sekta Yudeev-sogarithov v Polishie i zapadnoi Evrope. Iosif Frank. Evo uchenie i posledovateli. Istoricheski razskaz* (The Jewish Zoharists' Sect in Poland and Western Europe, Joseph Frank, His Teachings and His Followers. A Historical Tale) (St. Petersburg 1892). A brief biography of Brinken is included on pp. iii-iv.

coverage, there are no data on the public relations aspects of the Sect in its later stages¹⁷⁰ No doubt, that problem continued to plague the Frankists for a long time.

Old Elisha's Offspring

We shall now turn our attention to one branch of the Frankists family, Wolowski whose name is based on the literal translation of שׁוֹר -Schor-ox, because of its descent from Rabbi Zalman Schor, author of the classical rabbinical commentary *Tevuat Schor*.¹⁷¹ Its sage "Old Elisha" of Rohatyn, Galicia, who led his numerous family-clan and a good many of Rohatyn's Jews into the Sect, had the reputation of a learned Talmudist and Cabbalist. An early follower of Frank, he was probably the cause's first martyr. He had suffered death in exile from the beatings administered by the Turks. His sons, Nathan (or perhaps Lipman) and Leib (Shprints), were baptized as Michael (Michael) and Ludwik Wolowski. His daughter Haya was known for her zealous Sabbataianism, Cabbalist erudition, and participation in the Sect's sex orgies.¹⁷² His son Lukasz Franciszek (Luke Francis), originally Shloime (Solomon) of Rohatyn became the founder of the chief Wolowski clan. His son Franciszek, married to Barbara Lanckoronska, was the father of ten children. His home was, according to a contemporary, "decent and Godfearing."¹⁷³

Certainly, the Wolowskis were among the educated elite and not of the ignorant masses. It may be assumed that those of the family who broke away from "Orthodox" Frankism and no longer could believe in Frank's supernaturalism or even earthly Messianism or in his daughter Eve, continued to believe in some "unitarian" God, but not through the Catholic mysteries. Possibly, they either had been searching for a more enlightened version of mysticism or had adopted a deistic concept of God. Such changes in faith must have involved problems of adjustment not only to the Catholic milieu but also to the older Frankist generations.¹⁷⁴

Towards Secularism, Polonism, and Catholicism

Hardly to be doubted is the Frankist Orthodoxy of Lukasz Franciszek (formerly Solomon) or that of his brothers, all first generation converts. It can be assumed that his son Franciszek, the brewer, who either had been born a Catholic or who had been baptized in his early childhood, continued his involvement in the movement, at least to a considerable extent.

¹⁷⁰ See above, pp. 293-95.

¹⁷¹ On his place in Halacha, cf. Tchernowitz, Chaim [-Rav Tsair], *Toldot ha-poskim* (History of the Halachists), vol. iii (New York 1947), pp. 258-60.

¹⁷² For genealogical details see Balaban, *L'toldot*, vol. i, esp., pp. 107, 122 (table); vol. ii, p. 194; PCPZ, vol. ii, pp. 251 ff.; Jeske-Choiniski, NP, p. 100 f. and Syga and Szenic, MS, pp. 452-60, 493. On Elisha, see Graetz, Heinrich, *Divrei yeme Yisrael* (Hebrew translation of his great *Geschichte*) [-*Divrei*], vol. viii, book 2, pp. 499, 505, 509, 511.

Balaban is not clear about the names of Elisha's sons. Cf. his identification of Nathan [Michel?] as Lipman, in *L'toldot*, vol. i, pp. 107, 122.

On (Solomon) Lukasz Franciszek's "apostolic" and diplomatic roles, cf. Balaban, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 164; Graetz, *Divrei*, vol. viii, book 2, pp. 511, 521; FFP, vol. i, pp. 180, 223 and others.

¹⁷³ Morawski, WP, p. 159. The children were: Jan Ignacy, Julia, Joanna, Maria Agata (Szymanowska), Karol, Stanislaw, Teresa, Aleksander Andrzej, Teodor, Kazimiera. (Syga and Szenic, MS, pp. 453-57, 493). Less reliable are the data in PCPZ, vol. ii, pp. 259ff.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. e.g., p. 323.

Franciszek Wolowski is described as belonging to the middle class. He started out as brewer and soon, like perhaps a dozen other Frankists, became an owner of a brewery and of real estate. There were five other Wolowskis in the brewery business. In their upward climb, such persons emphasized their Polishness by wearing Polish rather than French clothes and acting like the *szlachta*.¹⁷⁵ The authors include the Wolowskis among the rapidly assimilating Frankist families. Franciszek is presented as accoutered in Polish clothes, occasionally sporting a dangling sword, careful to attend church services, an amiable but alert individual, on the lookout for his main chance, in his final stage of Frankism. To cite his fictional statement: "The prophet is sick and is dying somewhere in the world; after Frank will be gone, the Frankists will go, too. Things will somehow be arranged, for time is the best healer of aggravations."¹⁷⁶

The Prussian occupation and the Napoleonic Wars had made beer more popular to Wolowski's benefit. His children had been given a good education in Polish, French, music, and social graces. There is no direct evidence in the extant and published sources concerning their initiation in the Frankist mysteries. It would appear that they had been raised as good Polish patriots. The pride of the family was Maria,¹⁷⁷ the chief attraction in her parents' salon, where the great

¹⁷⁵ Syga and Szenic, *MS*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 9-11; citation from p. 15.

¹⁷⁷ Her earliest but still valuable biography is Dr. Stanislaw Morawski's "Reminiscences of a Contemporary about Maria Szymanowska," *Ateneum* [-*Ateneum*], vol. lxxxix (1889), pp. 326-47. Written in 1849, it was reprinted in *W Peterburku, 1827-1838, Wspomnienia pustelnika* (In Petersburg, 1827-1838. Memoirs of a Hermit) [-*WP*], edited by Adam Czartkowski and Henryk Moscicki (Poznan 1927), pp. 111-51.

Szymanowska had been relatively ignored by Mickiewicz scholars until the establishment of Communist Poland. Among the pre-World War II references, which usually emphasize her relations with Goethe and other worthies, and, of course, Mickiewicz, are Kleiner, Juliusz, *Mickiewicz*, vol. ii, book i, (Lwow 1934), p. 185 and note 3; Mirski, Jozef, "Polish Weimariana in Paris. From the Visits of Maria Szymanowska and Adam Mickiewicz in Weimar," *Przegląd współczesny* (Contemporary Review) [-*PW*], vol. xl, no. 119 (March 1934), pp. 334-59. There is no mention of Szymanowska's Frankist descent in it and in her grandson's (Wladyslaw Mickiewicz's) "My Mother," [-"Mother"], *PW*, vol. xvii, no. 52 (August 1926), pp. 146-59 (in book form) *Moja Matka*—My Mother—not available to me). Cf. also, his *Zywot Adama Mickiewicza* (The Life of Adam Mickiewicz) [-*Zywot*] (ed. 1), vol. ii (Poznan 1895), pp. 40-51, 56 ff, 111 ff, 159-60.

Szymanowska's and Mickiewicz's stay in Russia now serve to symbolize Polish-Russian friendship. In addition, the desire to accentuate Polish contributions to the arts have produced quite a few publications on Szymanowska in Poland and the U.S.S.R. Important are the articles: Reiss, Jozef W., "Maria Wolowska Szymanowska and Her Triumphs in Europe," *Wiedza i zycie* (Learning and Life), vol. xix, (1950), pp. 233-49, with a rich bibliography and mention of Frankist origin; Strumilo, Tadeusz and Witkowski, Michal, "Maria Szymanowska—Otylia von Goethe: Unknown Materials about Their Acquaintance," *Przegląd zachodni* (Eastern Review), vol. xii (1956), pp. 43-57. Among the books, cf. Mirski, Jozef and Maria. *Maria Szymanowska 1789-1831 album, materjaly, sztambuchy, wybor kompozycji* (Maria Szymanowska 1789-1831. Album. Materials, Albums, Selection of Compositions) (Warsaw 1953); Belza, Igor, *Maria Shimanovskaia* (Moscow 1956), which omits the Frankist aspect, but handles well her musical career. Belza also published her diary or parts of it in *Iz istorii russko-polskykh muzykalnykh svyazye* (From the History of Russian-Polish Bonds) (Moscow 1955), to which I had no access. She is the object of a short story by Teofil Syga, in *Woda z Niemna* (Water from the Niemen) (Warsaw 1957), pp. 13-55. Useful for its musical aspect is Strumilo, Tadeusz, *Zrodla i poczatki romantyzmu w muzyce polskiej* (Sources and Beginnings of Romanticism in Polish Music) (Krakow 1956), to which I had no access.

Another unavailable book about her is Hordynski, Wladyslaw, *Marja Szymanowska, 1789-1839* (Krakow 1953).

The most important biography to which I had access is Syga and Szenic, *MS* (as in note 58).

had gathered to listen to her music, also a testimony to a relatively open society.¹⁷⁸ She was married at an early age to Jozef Szymanowski, a country squire and horseman, quite a rapid transformation from his ancestors of the small Galician Jewish town in three generations or less. Maria was urbane and bohemian. They were divorced because of incompatibility.¹⁷⁹

The Wolowski salon was also the gathering place for the Frankist elite. The spy, Macrott, also had his eye on it. On December 25, 1822 (January 6, 1823) Macrott reported that "the baptized Jews often gather at Franciszek Wolowski's under the pretext of listening to the concerts of Mme. Szymanowska, the daughter of the aforementioned Wolowski."¹⁸⁰ On January 12/24, 1823, he told of a meeting of "baptized Jews" on the previous evening at the home of the brewer Jozef Kaplinski. Those present, "Wojciech and Pawel Wolowski, Andrzej Brzezinski, Franciszek Wolowski, Mme. Szymanowska, and a few others, were preoccupied with the examination of a package of papers brought by Brzezinski." There was also talk about Szymanowska's trip to Kiev, "where among other things she is also expected to take care of some matters of the baptized Jews from Warsaw—and it would appear that the meeting was arranged especially in connection with that trip."¹⁸¹

Maria's Musical Career

After her divorce, Maria embarked in 1823 together with her sister Kazimiera on a very successful European concert tour, it is said in order to provide for her three young children, Romuald, Helena, and Celina. She charmed the great, such as Goethe, Humboldt, Beethoven, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Thorwaldsen, who sculpted her statue. Her Jewish descent was generally known, but not always mentioned. According to Countess Blud, Szymanowska was "beautiful with the kind of beauty connected with the dreamy poetic grace that is bestowed by the mixture of Jewish blood and inborn Polish coquetry."¹⁸² Tymoteusz Lipinski, Warsaw's chronicler, wrote in 1823 in his *Zapiski* (Notes) that Szymanowska "presents herself everywhere as an unhappy Polish countess, however it is known that she is a daughter and wife of a Warsaw brewer of the tribe of Judah."^{182a}

Szymanowska had met Tsar Alexander in Vienna and Warsaw and was appointed by him as first court pianist and piano tutor to his daughter. She settled

¹⁷⁸ Maria's music attracted among others: Counts Novosiltsev, Golitzyn, Viazensky, Pushkin's father, Countess Chodkiewicz, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz. She finally arrived when the latter saw to it that she received an invitation to a banquet of the Society of Friends of Learning in 1815. She gave a concert at the wishes of Empress Marie, widow of Tsar Paul I (Syga and Szenic, *MS*, pp. 44-45). Her later contact with Tsar Alexander hastened her father's nobilitization in 1824.

¹⁷⁹ *PCPZ*, vol. ii, pp. 290-10. No exact genealogy is given, but the Frankist Szymanowskis are described. Following his divorce Józef married Elzbieta Młodzianowska, a Frankist, to judge by her name. (Cf., *PCPZ*, vol. ii, p. 210).

Their daughter Zofja lived with her half-sister Celina in Mickiewicz's house in Paris. She married the poet Teofil Lenartowicz. Parts of her revealing diary were published in Tadeusz Boy-Zelenski's *Bronzownicy* (The Bronze Platters) (Warsaw 1930), pp. 201ff.

¹⁸⁰ Syga and Szenic, *MS*, p. 463.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 464. Other reports included information on Szymanowska's successes, the hiding of an army deserter at the home of one of the group (was he perchance a Frankist?), the gathering of a number of the "baptized" to greet Szymanowska at a village near Warsaw on her way back from Russia (p. 465).

¹⁸² Cited in Jastruń, *Mickiewicz* (Warsaw 1949), p. 119.

^{182a} Syga and Szenic, *MS*, pp. 259-60.

in St. Petersburg with her children, sisters, Kazimiera and Julia, and brother Teodor. Very much in the style of the emancipated Jewish women in Germany, her salon was a meeting place for the Polish colony, Russian aristocrats, high officials, foreign diplomats, and the intellectual and artistic circles. Obviously, her charm and her contact overcame the repugnance evinced by many Poles against Frankists.

Among the visitors to her salon since November 24, 1827 was the great poet Adam Mickiewicz, who often regaled the company both with his vivacity and poetic improvisations. A close friendship ensued. Szymanowska, then thirty-seven, ten years older than Mickiewicz, composed music to his poems and he dedicated some poems to her. A few years after, Mickiewicz left on his European tour, never to return to Russia. She died of cholera in 1831. Mickiewicz married her daughter Celina on July 22, 1834.

Expectedly, Szymanowska's Frankist descent has often been ignored in the published literature. A good example is her treatment by Morawski, who does not mention her Jewish descent in his article. He merely relates that she hailed from "a home that was prosperous and known for private virtues."¹⁸³ However, Morawski's private "Silly and Droll Notes Written in Petersburg in 1830" and published much later reveal that not only had he been in the habit of referring to her origin humorously in conversation with her,¹⁸⁴ but he also blamed their Jewish descent for some of her and her daughters' traits. Thus he commented in the entry under May 8: "*Elles judaissent*. Their Palestinian blood always rises in these people."¹⁸⁵ Such remarks contrast with Morawski's references in his published article to Szymanowska's "smile of Polish sincerity,"¹⁸⁶ "facial expression with which God particularly favored our Slavic stock."¹⁸⁷ In a poignant exclamation, he regretted the fact that "no Pole has mentioned you for twenty years."¹⁸⁸

Readiness for Inter-marriage

Choinski who underemphasized the duration of Frankist separatism included the Wolowskis, Labeckis, and Krysinis among families that had been the first "to break the tradition of the company" by marrying outside the Sect, as late as the 1850's."^{188a}

Maria's generation had less objections to exogamous marriages. Her sister and travel companion, Kazimiera had been in love with Dr. Morawski. To cite his 1830 entry:

She is the one who has been matched to me in marriage in the days of our good understanding [with the Szymanowska family], a thing which I made believe I never got the hint of, in order not to humble the match-makers, with whom I never had the desire to enter into cousinship, unless at the time,

¹⁸³ *Ateneum*, p. 327.

¹⁸⁴ *W Peterburku*, Annexes, p. 331.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹⁸⁶ *Ateneum*, p. 171.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

^{188a} *NP*, p. 107.

when Rothschild, after buying the Holy Land, would call them to Jerusalem as ministers."¹⁸⁹

Marriages between Jews and Christians were then, as they still are now, frequently resisted by both sides. It can be accepted that at the wish of her dying mother Kazimiera married her cousin, a Wolowski.¹⁹⁰

Nothing has been revealed in published sources about the Frankist indoctrination of Maria's children. As a young girl, her daughter Helena referred to "Jewish greed" in connection with some incident during a voyage involving a Jewish innkeeper.¹⁹¹ In another connection, she used the term *poczciwy Zydek*—honest Jew,¹⁹² both common stereotypes.

Objections to intermarriage evidently grew even weaker in Szymanowska's children's generation. The young men who visited and courted her daughters were, as far as it is known, Catholics of non-Frankist and non-Jewish descent. Such was Franciszek Malewski who married Helena. To judge from Morawski's notes, Maria also favored her daughter Celina's marriage to one Puchalski, also most likely of non-Frankist descent.¹⁹³ On the other hand, Alexandra, the daughter of the famous Franciszek Wolowski (b. 1786; very likely a cousin, not to be confused with the brewer) and Tekla (Celina's cousin) married Leon Faucher, a French converted Jew or a son of a convert.¹⁹⁴ Celina herself married Mickiewicz, definitely a descendant of Jews, at least on his mother's side. There is no lack of allusions to his ancestry in contemporary literature. However, the treatment of this problem must be postponed for another occasion.¹⁹⁵

When Mickiewicz, thanks to Faucher, received the appointment to the Paris chair in Slavic Literature, unfriendly or jealous émigrés attributed it to nepotism and Frankist or Jewish solidarity. For instance, the acrimonious Ostrowski argued that the poet did not possess the qualifications for the position and that the appointment was secured by intrigues, characterizing Mickiewicz's slogan as "first, I and we and our (*nasi*) people."¹⁹⁶ Mises viewed this expression as "allu-

¹⁸⁹ *WP*, Annexes, pp. 331-33. Morawski's dislike of an alliance with a Frankist can be traced to his ambivalent attitude to the Jews. He viewed them as the masters of the high nobility, the *szlachta* and the peasants in Lithuania. He even believed in the blood libel in the past. Cf. his *Od Merecza do Kowna. Gawęda pustelnika* (From Merecz to Kowno. A Hermit's Talk), vol. i, p. 57; vol. ii, pp. 50, 52-53, 54-55, published in an unidentified Wilno publication, marked in pencil 1858, in the Library of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York.

¹⁹⁰ Cf., her letter to Morawski, June 5, 1853, in which she expressed her continued love for him (*WP*, notes, p. 359.) She married a relative, Jan Tadeusz Wolowski (Syga and Szenic, *MS*, p. 450). Following his death, she refused to remarry and devoted herself to her daughter Celina's upbringing. Celina died single. Kazimiera asked Morawski to burn her letter. Fortunately, he did not. (*Ibid.*, pp. 456-57).

It is interesting to note that Kazimiera's mother and father authorized, as Celina's grandparents and guardians, their grand-daughter's marriage to Mickiewicz. Was their acceptance of the poet due to his Jewish descent?

¹⁹¹ Syga and Szenic, *MS*, p. 373.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* In "fragments" of letter of Apr. 18, 1824, the first day of the "Easter holidays," Kazimiera wrote to her parents from Paris that all the clothes "do not compare according to me with the Warsaw home feast (*swiecone*), we have been sighing since yesterday with Jasinska, how the *babkas* are eaten there, how nicely they dressed there, how many persons will be at father's tonight." (Syga and Szenic, *MS*, p. 295). Passover occurred that year on April 13 to April 20.

¹⁹³ Morawski, *WP*, pp. 328-29.

¹⁹⁴ Faucher (1803-1854) editor, economist and Hellenist, was Minister of the Interior. Cf. Lavasseur, E., "Notice sur M. Leon Faucher," *Seances et Travaux de l'Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, vol. lxiii, part ii, n.s., (Paris 1908), pp. 32-81; *PCPZ*, vol. ii, p. 274.

¹⁹⁵ It is fully treated in my unpublished book. Cf. also *PCPZ*, vol. ii, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *Zywot*, vol. ii, pp. 511-12.

sion not without a double meaning as to the proper nationality of the protectors.^{196a}

Interestingly, Mickiewicz's son Wladyslaw married his own cousin Maria, daughter of Helena Malewska.¹⁹⁷

There are varied theories concerning Mickiewicz's sudden decision to marry Celina who was living with her grandfather Wolowski in Warsaw. The family of Franciszek Wolowski, Celina's Parisian cousin, encouraged the marriage. He and his wife Tekla, née Wolowska, Celina's cousin, participated in the arrangements for the bride's journey and wedding. Celina stayed with them in Paris.¹⁹⁸

Morawski claims that it was he who suggested the marriage to Mickiewicz. It is significant that Morawski, who had refused to marry Kazimiera because of his reluctance to enter into kinship with "Jews," failed to show such scruples when it came to Mickiewicz's marriage.¹⁹⁹ Was it because he viewed the match as one between two persons of Jewish descent, or was his claim as matchmaker merely an understandable white lie in view of Mickiewicz's greatness?

Indeed, Mickiewicz had known of Celina's Frankist ancestry. The Wolowski family was well known, and while it was not polite to remind such people in public of their Jewish origin, such descent was far from a well-kept secret.

Mickiewicz's marriage led to even closer bonds with the influential Wolowski family. The friendship was broken up by his conversion to Towianism, and was again resumed with Tekla after her husband's death.²⁰⁰ Other relatives with whom the Mickiewicz couple maintained a very close relationship were Dr. Idelfons Krynski and his wife Ursula.²⁰¹

The basically close family relationship of the sectaries despite the distances of time and geography was shown in the reception accorded to Wladyslaw, the poet's son, on his visit to his mother's relatives in Warsaw in 1861. His aunt, Julia Wolowska (Mickiewicz did not identify her by name), though old and blind, was alert, was able to locate everything, and showed him the family portraits. Another aunt, Wladyslaw wrote, (again, without giving her name) was more demonstrative. She kissed him and presented him with a ring which she placed on his finger. Wladyslaw's attitude towards this family gathering, as revealed in his memoirs, was patronizing. His St. Petersburg cousin, also unidentified by name, who went along with him, was less polite. The old lady had to force on him both her kiss and ring. He left in a huff and threw the ring away.²⁰² Evidently, he could not stand his gushing "Jewish" relatives.

^{196a}PCPZ, vol. ii, p. 276.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 130.

¹⁹⁸Mickiewicz, *DW*, S, vol. xvi, p. 244, n. 64 by Pigon; Mickiewicz, "Mother," *PW*, vol. xvii, no. 52 (August 1926), pp. 162-63; PCPZ, vol. ii, p. 269.

¹⁹⁹Morawski, *Ateneum*, p. 355; *WP*, p. 174.

²⁰⁰Literature in PCPZ, vol. ii, p. 269. See also Mickiewicz's letter, Paris, July 22, 1834, *DW*, PR, vol. xi, p. 136. On the Sunday dinners, cf. Marja Gorecka, *Wspomnienia* (Reminiscences), pp. 32, 138, 323, cited in PCPZ, vol. ii, p. 269.

²⁰¹Ibid. p. 56; Mickiewicz, *Zywot*, vol. ii, pp. 356, 380.

²⁰²Mickiewicz, *Pamiętniki*, vol. ii, pp. 112-13. It is difficult to understand Wladyslaw's reluctance to reveal his aunts' names, unless it was the consequence of his desire to hide his Frankist ancestry, in view of the renown of the Wolowski family. His cousin was probably the son of Celina's sister Helena Szymanowska Malewska or of his uncle Teodor Wolowski. The cousin's action may have been due to his disgust with the obviously gushing "Jewish" relatives. If so, it is an interesting commentary on the progressive Frankist deculturation and the conflict between generations.

Aunt Julia's Religion

A important clew to the continuity of Frankism in the Wolowski family is the reference in a letter written on June 17, 1847 by Celina to her aunt, Julia, as follows:

More than once have I bitterly reproached myself that I did not know how to appreciate you earlier, and that I was the cause for so many sufferings and persecutions for your true and quiet but sincere religion. Only during the years of my life with Adam, I understood what you had taught me and how you have handled me.²⁰³

The struggle between Julia, as I see it, the more "orthodox" and therefore more "Jewish" Frankist, on the one hand, and the more "enlightened" de-Frankized and de-Judaized sisters Kazimiera and Maria, indicates that Julia tried to convey to her nieces some notions of the Frankist faith, at the cost of "sufferings and persecution," very likely ridicule and petty connivings by her sceptical sisters and nieces, Helena and Celina. This, in my opinion is the correct explanation of the words: "your true and quiet but sincere religion." It is most unlikely that the reference had implied the Catholic faith.

Celina's Illness and Cure

Situations and conflicts due to the marginality of the sect, secret religious beliefs and practices, doubts concerning the truth of the faith, disagreements between generations, decisions concerning ultimate belongingness to Judaism or Catholicism, the expectation of great events and disappointments when they turned out to be mirages, cultural and religious ambivalences, insults from the Polish majority and its refusal to accept the sectaries, fear of identification with Jews and Judaism—all these were bound to produce tensions and breakdowns.

Proof of continued Frankist traditions can also be deduced from Celina's "miraculous" cure from insanity by Andrzej Towianski, the "Master" who had converted Mickiewicz to his new religion.²⁰⁴

Mention has been made of Zaleski's letter of 1851 which cited his conversation with Mickiewicz about his contacts with Frankists through his wife's intermediacy.²⁰⁵ There are ample reasons for surmising that Celina was a Frankist sympathizer, if not a believer, or that at the very least, she reverted to Frankism during her mental illness. And it may well be that her guilt feelings about her abandonment or the weakening of her Frankist faith had come to the surface during her mental breakdown, if we are to judge by the cure. It is possible, therefore, that Towianism, with its emphasis on the Jews and the Poles as the chosen nations and its teachings on the conversion of the Jews to Christianity and the Polish-Jewish symbiosis, particularly in the light of Mickiewicz's interpretation of it,²⁰⁶ provided a comfortable faith for her. It is less likely that her mental

²⁰³ "Mother," *PW*, vol. xix, no. 54, (Oct. 1926), p. 125. Perhaps Celina's remarks about her stepmother's different way of raising children can also be included in the same category (Letter to Helena, June 16, 1832, *ibid.*, vol. xvii, no. 52 [August 1926], p. 155). However, this difference is traced in part to the "tone of the Warsaw drawing rooms."

²⁰⁴ For the fullest treatment of his Jewish aspects, see my "GE," pp. 229ff.; my "MJ"; for a brief bibliography, my "Tarniks," pp. 195-96, n. 22.

²⁰⁵ Cf. n. 30.

²⁰⁶ Cf. My "MJ".

collapse was the consequence of her guilt feelings as a Catholic. In either case, Frankism had been an important factor.

Celina has not attracted the attention of scholars who had devoted years of study to less important aspects of Mickiewicz's life.²⁰⁷ This, too, is due to her descent. Her own son Wladyslaw had been so niggardly with information about her that he failed to mention her Frankist origin in his memoirs.²⁰⁸ Moreover, there is also much evidence of considerable criminal manipulation with manuscript sources involving Celina.²⁰⁹

Little is known about her illness. It began early in November 1838. The most exhaustive description of this complex factor in the poet's life, which presumably set the stage for his acceptance of the Towianist faith, is to be found in his biography by his son Wladyslaw.²¹⁰ However, this account leaves too many things untold, more so than most of the son's writings about his father. It is particularly reticent about her symptoms.²¹¹ Finally, after Mickiewicz's refusal to heed the physician's advice, Celina was taken to a "house of health" in Veuves. By February 1839 her relatives, Dr. Idelfons Krynski and Tekla Wolowska, were permitted visits, but not her husband. She was discharged on March 24. Her letter to her sister Helena, April 2, 1839, reported that she regained her health without reference to the nature of her illness and the circumstance of the cure.²¹² Her health was still alarming in May. In fact, Mickiewicz feared to leave her for a few days. Evidently by June 1839 she was able to join her husband in Lausanne, where he became Professor of Latin Literature.²¹³ In his letters to his presum-

²⁰⁷ There are only five pertinent items listed in Ludwik Stolarzewicz's *Bibliografia Mickiewiczowska* (Mickiewicz Bibliography) (Wilno 1924), namely, numbers 792-96. I regret that I have had no access to them, in particular to T. Ziemia's article "Mme Celina's Recovery," in *Bluszcz* (Ivy), 1885. I take it that had any significant facts or an interpretation similar to mine been brought out in these articles, they would have been mentioned in the scholarly literature. Similarly meager and regrettably also unavailable here are the listings on the subject in later bibliographies.

²⁰⁸ *Pamiętniki*, vol. i, pp. 12, 14-15, 57, 61-62, 78-79. Wladyslaw's "Mother," similarly shed no light on Celina's origin nor does it undertake to explain the questions raised here in connection with her cure. Wladyslaw did refer once to his mother as an "Israel" or "Israelite," in *Zywot*, vol. iii. I regret my inability to locate the passage at present.

²⁰⁹ Zelenski stated that Dr. Ludwik Gorecki, Mickiewicz's grandson, had told him that he had burned Celina's diary and her correspondence with her sister. Zelenski made the reservation that Gorecki was prone to exaggerate matters. However, Zelenski's evidence of Wladyslaw Mickiewicz's policy of collecting, hiding, falsifying and possibly destroying documents can be accepted without doubt. Zelenski also cited a private letter by Korbut which read among others that "it is an amazing thing, that some of the historians of our literature still treat seriously all that Wladyslaw Mickiewicz told and wrote about his father." ("New and Old Ways of Science about Mickiewicz," *Nowa Polska* [New Poland], vol. i, no. 6, [London 1942], pp. 462, 464-65). See Zelenski's *Bronzownicy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-41, on tampering with the memoirs of Zofia Szymanowska Lenartowicz, Celina's half-sister. For additional information on their contents, see Jozef Korpala, "Teofil Lenartowicz and the Memoirs of Zofia Szymanowska," *Wiadomosci literackie* (Literary News) [WL], vol. vii, no. 6, (319) (Feb. 9, 1930), p. 1. Lenartowicz admitted that he had destroyed parts of the ms.

²¹⁰ *Zywot*, vol. ii, pp. 448ff; vol. iii, pp. 87ff.

²¹¹ Father Kajsiewicz told Pope Pius IX, on the basis of Mickiewicz's confession in 1846 or 1847, that the reason for Celina's mental breakdown was her husband's refusal to heed the call for priesthood. Cited in Smolikowski, Piotr, "The First Brethren of the Lord's Resurrection and Towianism's Beginnings" [-"Brethren"], *Przegląd polski* (Polish Review) [-PP], year 30, vol. cxviii, (1825), p. 492. This is the only instance in émigré literature that I have come across this view of Towianski's approach to her cure.

²¹² Letter to brother Franciszek, February 20, 1839, cited in DW, PR, p. 446; Smolikowski, *Historia*, p. 445 (as in note 141), citing Witwicki's letter to Zaleski, March 3.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 454, 456.

ably pious Catholic wife, Mickiewicz, who was then, according to Catholic sources, reputedly undergoing a return to religion, never made mention of the Deity nor did he express any hope for miraculous intervention by Jesus, Mary or the saints during her illness and recovery.

Following a seemingly normal year in Lausanne where her third child, Helena, was born, Celina suffered a relapse in September 1840. This was a gain attributed to exertion from the care of the baby.²¹⁴ This time her illness was more serious. She was taken to a "house of health" on July 17, 1841, the day of Towianski's visit to the poet. Soon after, possibly a day or two, Celina was "cured" by Towianski.

Most important to us are the circumstances of the cure. According to J. Scovazzi's version, probably heard from Mickiewicz, there were a few persons in his home when she was brought back.

Celina's face was like plaster, her stare was glazed, she was in the paroxysm of illness. Towianski approached her, took her hand, whispered a few words so quietly that I did not hear them. Mme. Celina fell on her knees and when she rose, she began to embrace her husband and children.²¹⁵

On March 23, 1842, Mickiewicz wrote to General Skrzynecki that "the regaining of health of my wife was accompanied by miraculous events. It would take too long to describe them."²¹⁶

A different version by a contemporary, reflecting current émigré rumors, is contained in W. Chelchowski's letter of October 9, 1841, to Ignacy Domejko. He wrote that Towianski came to Mickiewicz after the poet had taken his wife back to the "house of health." The mystic reminded Mickiewicz of their meeting twenty years before and told him that he did not even know that the poet was married. Informed by Mickiewicz about the nature of his wife's sickness, Towianski told him "certain things." Mickiewicz went to the house of health and after having done "certain unknown things," she was well when he brought her home afterwards.²¹⁷

It is inconceivable that Towianski could have been unaware of Mickiewicz's marriage.

While the mysterious words whispered by him in Celina's ears are not known, according to Mickiewicz, her first words following the "miraculous" seance with Towianski were: "Moses went up to the mountain and said."²¹⁸

In his talk to the Towianski Circle on August 21, 1844, Mickiewicz connected his wife's cure with her Jewish origin and Israelite spirit, as a lesson that

²¹⁴ *Zywot*, vol. ii, p. 503.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 88.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Chmielowski, Piotr, "Towianski and Mickiewicz," (a Review of Wladyslaw Mickiewicz's *Wspoludzial Adama Mickiewicza w sprawie Andrzeja Towianskiego* [Adam Mickiewicz's Participation in Andrzej Towianski's Cause] [Paris 1877], 2 vols.), in *Ateneum*, vol. xiii (January 1879), pp. 33-34.

²¹⁸ *Zywot*, vol. iii, p. 88. The poet also remarked in this connection that his inner conflict regarding his faith in Towianski "was a struggle of Jacob." (*ibid.*) No scholar has ventured to attempt to analyze the meaning of this phrase. Could it have meant a parallel between the struggle of the biblical Jacob with the angel of God? Could it have been a struggle with Jacob Frank? Could it have meant a struggle with Jacob, the symbol of the Jew?

There is also the problem of the word "Moses." According to Kajsiewicz, Celina called her husband Moses during her insanity. (*Zywot*, vol. iii, pp. 199-200). It would perhaps be too far-fetched to assume that Moses might have been his Frankist Jewish name.

the Poles could be converted to Towianism by approaching them through Jesus and Frenchmen through Napoleon. To quote:

Every nation feels differently and expresses itself in its own way. You will not move a Jew in any other way, unless you let him feel Jehovah. When the master removed Celina's insanity in a few words, uttered in a powerful voice, she said, coming to herself, "Moses went up to the mountain and said." Her Israelite spirit was touched with the strength and voice of Mosaic might.²¹⁹

Aloyzy Ligenza Niewiarowicz stated that Mickiewicz had told him that after the cure Celina said: "I heard as if [it were] the voice of Moses of such strength, that I quickly returned to my normal state."^{219a}

Father Rozanski, who had later joined the Towianist movement and had been a steady visitor in the Mickiewicz household, told that Mickiewicz had stated later that he could not remind himself what words had restored his wife to health. Celina, however, was supposed to have fallen before Towianski's knees after the cure and to have stated: "Die Flucht ist gelassen"—the flight is calm.²²⁰ This may have been a misquotation of: "Des Fluchts entlasstet"—the curse is lifted.²²¹

Rozanski remarked that "it was a strange thing—that she did not express herself in Polish. That must have been some German curse."²²² The question is whether the reversion of German may have indicated the continuity of Yiddish. This also raises the problem of the retention of Yiddish among the baptized Frankists. A highly Germanized Yiddish or a Yiddishized German would have been the natural lingua franca among the Frankists, the baptized and the unbaptized. To my knowledge, there is no information concerning this problem, except for the Sect's earliest stage.

In my opinion, there is no doubt that in his reference to Celina's "Israelite spirit" Mickiewicz implied a Jewish Israel. Otherwise, he would not have used Celina's case to illustrate the specific appeal of Jehovah in "moving" a Jew.²²³

²¹⁹ *DW*, S, vol. xi, pp. 321-22. A similar version also circulated in an unpublished form among the Circle. (Cf. *Zywot*, vol. iii, pp. 333-34). There is a conflict in the versions (as cited in note 215 and that in the cited passage) concerning the volume of Towianski's voice. In the first version, it is stated that "Towianski approached her, whispered a few words so quietly that I did not hear them." Dunski wrote that afterwards the cure had been gradual and slow. Nevertheless, he termed the beginning as a "miraculous" one. He saw in the cure "much of the influence of a higher man . . . who understood the cause immediately in this case of insanity and with his extraordinary attack, with his sure speech, with ideas that were new to her, with fright, he turned forward the direction of her feelings." Cf. Kallenbach, Jozef, *Adam Mickiewicz* [-AM] ed. 1, vol. ii (Krakow 1897), pp. 284-85, note 2, on basis of Smolikowski, "Brethren," as in note 211, *PP*, December 1894, p. 284; Mickiewicz's version, *DW*, S, vol. xvi, pp. 148-50. In Mickiewicz's eyes, Celina's cure was evidence of Towianski's ability to perform miracles. Cf. also report by Kajsiewicz, July 16, 1843, Mickiewicz, *DW*, S, vol. xvi, p. 164.

^{219a} *Wspomnienia o Adamie Mickiewiczu* (Reminiscences about Adam Mickiewicz) (Lwow 1878), p. 104.

²²⁰ Rozanski, Felix, *A. Towianski* (Poznan 1882), p. 25.

²²¹ I am indebted to Drs. Isaac Bacon and Irving Linn for aid in my attempt to puzzle out the meaning of this statement.

²²² Cf. n. 220.

²²³ It is characteristic that none of the Mickiewicz scholars have pointed to this phase of the cure. Even Kleiner, in his *Juliusz Slowacki*, op. cit., vol. iv, book 1, pp. 77-78, merely refers to the cure which he claims Mickiewicz had viewed as a miracle, in contrast to Towianski who failed to see it this way. Similarly, Stanislaw Szpotanski in his *Andrzej Towianski, Zycie i nauka* (Andrzej Towianski. Life and Teachings) (Warsaw 1938), pp. 17, 153-54, writes about the cure, without at all referring to its course or to the quotations which are cited here. Zygmunt Markiewicz explains that "the poet repeated to his wife Towianski's word that are unknown to us." ("Muscovite Friends," *Kultura* (Culture) [July-Aug. 1949], p. 63).

In view of Celina's response and Mickiewicz's reference, the association of ideas utilized by Towianski in his cure could not have been new to Celina.

Obviously, Towianski's treatment in letting her "feel Jehovah" was based on Celina's Jewish background. Possibly, Towianski's own belief that he was a reincarnation of Moses may explain the "voice of Mosaic might." The poet had spent the entire preceding night in a discussion of Celina's illness with Towianski. The latter's pretense of his ignorance of Celina's Frankist descent cannot be taken seriously,²²⁴ as he had spent some time in Dresden with Mickiewicz's friend Odyniec and it is inconceivable that the latter would have failed to discuss it with him.²²⁵ Moreover, it may be assumed that the poet's own description of Celina's symptoms would have included some reference to her background. Obviously Towianski was determined to fully act out the mystique of his mission in a gamble for Mickiewicz's conversion to his cause.

There is no information about the subject of Celina's irrational talk during her illness. Towianski himself stated that he cured her through mental suggestion by "provoking movement of her spirit" and after that "spirit had taken towards God that step which until then the illness prevented, she was delivered."²²⁶ These words support the hypothesis that Towianski involved some element in her Jewish past.

Indeed, he had taken advantage of her Frankist background in the treatment. He had let her feel "Jehovah's might." Hence the reference to Moses in Celina's first words following the cure. Celina's Frankism, whether active or dormant, was evidently of sufficient importance in her life to have constituted a factor in her cure. Perhaps Frankism was also a factor in precipitating her illness. The birth of the child, her exhaustion with its feeding, poverty, and uncertainty of her husband's love are always given as the reasons for her collapse. Clashes with her husband over her Frankism or her own inner conflicts on this subject, should be added to the possible causes of Celina's insanity.

Christianity in Family Correspondence

As in the case of Celina Mickiewicz's correspondence with her husband during her illness,²²⁷ the published exchange of letters with her sister Helena, daughter Marya, and other persons cannot be described as those of truly believing Catholics. True, a daughter's first communion and the dispatch of breviaries as a gift are mentioned. However, nowhere is there any allusion to supernatural intervention of Jesus, the Trinity, Mary, or the saints, although the correspondence frequently contains tender and deeply religious references to the mercy of God and

²²⁴ Wladyslaw Golembiowski surmised that Gut (Towianski's brother-in-law) had known of Celina's illness. Cf. his *Mickiewicz odsłonięty i towianszczyzna* (Mickiewicz Exposed and Towianskidom) (Paris 1844), p. 62.

²²⁵ Kallenbach holds that Odyniec was the chief source of information during Towianski's stay in Dresden in the winter of 1835-36. Cf. his *AM*, ed. 1, vol. ii, p. 319.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ Cf. n. 238.

His care.²²⁸ Celina's letter following her cure²²⁹ reveals great emotional relief, a deep faith in God and the Messianist belief in the forthcoming end of the Polish exile. Nevertheless, the abundant references to the Deity are never specifically Christian. Similarly, the letters of her sister Helena to Celina, the few extant letters of their brother Romuald and of their half-sister Zofja Szymanowska, do not contain any Christian religious terms.²³⁰ The absence of such terms or thoughts is most striking, particularly in letters reporting family tragedies.

For instance, Celina's letter to her brother Romuald, notifying him of their mother's death (July 25, 1831), contains no references to the Deity, except for

²²⁸ References to God, but not specifically Christian, are included in the following letters by Celina to Helena: February 4, 1832, in Mickiewicz, "Mother," *PW*, vol. xviii, no. 52, (August 1926), p. 150; Oct. 12, 1839, *ibid.*, no. 53 (Sept. 1926), p. 396; Dec. 23, 1839, *ibid.*; June 22, 1840, *ibid.*, p. 399; January 6, following Romuald's death, in *Zywot*, vol. ii, p. 473; letter of March 10, 1840, which describes Celina's shock upon hearing the news of the death of grandfather Franciszek, only two days after the mass for her brother Romuald (*ibid.*, p. 475). Other letters by Celina to Helena and Julja Wolowska, cited in *Zywot*, vol. ii and vol. iii are incomplete and the test of the Christian references to the Deity could not be applied to them.

The following letters of Celina to her sister Helena written after her cure by Towianski contain references to Divine Providence without any specifically Christian implications: December 18, 1841, in "Mother," *PW* (Sept. 1926); March 12, 1842, which mentions her daily attendance at mass; June 12, 1842, (*ibid.*, p. 404), in which tells of her strength in the new faith, hope that "you too should witness that," and notifies her of sending the five books of the novenas to the Holiest Virgin for her and her daughters. The concluding blessing, however, reads, "may God bless you and your children." (*ibid.*, p. 405). On July 12, 1845, she wrote enthusiastically about her new faith and expressed her hope that her sister could share in her spirit the "grace and freedom which God has bestowed upon us." ("Mother," *PW*, vol. xix, no. 54 [Oct. 1926], pp. 119-20).

References to the Deity, again not specifically Christian, are also included in Celina's letter to Helena, Jan. 4, 1850, (*op. cit.*, [Dec. 1926], p. 382); April 4, 1850 (*ibid.*, p. 383); June 29, 1851 (*ibid.*, p. 387); Sept. 23, 1852, (*ibid.*, p. 398); Sept. 28, 1852, (*ibid.*, p. 398). In her letter of Nov. 14, 1852 (*ibid.*, p. 400) she describes her daughter Helena's forthcoming first communion as just a family affair. Still the references to God are phrased as usual without any specifically Christian connotations.

Similarly, in Celina's letters to her aunt Julja, Oct. 19, 1834. (*ibid.*, [Aug. 1925], p. 170) and October 1926 (*ibid.*, p. 125) references to God are not specifically Christian. This goes for letters to her daughter Marya, as for instance, the letter of Nov. 25, 1847 (*ibid.*, [Oct. 1926] p. 126). On Jan. 31, 1848 Celina wrote to her daughter that her father desired that she take confession upon her return (*ibid.*, p. 128), but there is no Christological reference. It is also absent in her letters of April 12, 1848 (*ibid.*, p. 129), Nov. 16, 1848 (*ibid.*, [Nov. 1926], p. 286); May 6, 1852 (*ibid.*, no. 56, [Dec. 1926]) in which hope is expressed that God will help after Mickiewicz's French government pension had been discontinued. There are references to Helena's first communion in other letters of Celina to Marja (Nov. 14, 1852, *ibid.*, p. 400; February 19, 1853, *ibid.*, p. 402), but there are no references to God.

In her letter written during her final illness to Laura Guerin, December 27, 1853, Celina stated "I entrust myself to God's care" (*ibid.*, p. 404), without including any particular Christian connotations.

²²⁹ Mickiewicz, "Mother," *PW*, vol. xviii, no. 53 (Sept. 1926), p. 401.

²³⁰ The preserved letters of Helena Malewska to her sister Celina show the same pattern. This is seen in the letter of October 12, 1859 (*ibid.*, [Sept. 1926], p. 396), June 12, 1842 (*ibid.*, p. 404) and of Dec. 28, 1847 (*ibid.*, [Oct. 1926], p. 126), in which Celina had been told of the death of their stepmother. Their brother Romuald Szymanowski followed the same practice, to judge by his few extant letters, as, e.g. his letter to Celina, Dec. 7/19, 1838 (*ibid.*, [Aug. 1926], p. 170), in which he does refer to the forthcoming holidays. Similarly, Mickiewicz's daughter Marja refrained from introducing such terms in her letters to her mother, as seen in those dated May 8, 1848 (*ibid.*, [Oct. 1926], p. 131) and Dec. 9, 1852, (*ibid.*, [Dec. 1926], p. 400), in which reference is made to Helena's first communion. Similarly, there are no Christological references in Zofja Szymanowska's letter to her half-sister Helena Malewska of Sept. 28, 1852 (*ibid.* p. 397).

the phrase, "May God keep thee and bless thee!", the traditional Jewish priestly blessing,²³¹ common to Jews and Christians.

However, Helena's postscript in the same letter, couched in very pious language, is almost a prayer, with phrases and thoughts that appear to be traditionally Jewish. To quote:

She is no longer here. The will of the Highest has been fulfilled. We no longer have a mother. God, Who had taken her, will take her place. Hope and confidence are in God. Her hour has struck, she is already standing before the throne of the Timeless, and surely will bring prayers for us before His countenance. Lord! receive her into His Holiest glory, and give us strength to bear the terrible blow, which He had seen fit to send down on us.²³²

There are no references in this note to Jesus, Mary, the Trinity, or purgatory. In contrast, it contains the typically Jewish phrase concerning the intercession of the dead relatives on behalf of the living.

Similarly, Celina's letter of January 6, 1840, a reaction to the news of her brother Romuald's grave illness, written before her Towianist cure (and without having been aware that he had already died on July 6/18, 1839), is without specific Catholic expressions. To cite: "May God keep thee and comfort thee, my dear Romuald, I will sincerely pray for you and you sigh to God and agree in all respects with His Holy Will." Similarly, the other references to God in the letter²³³ are not expressed in a specifically Catholic form. Celina's letter to Helena, informing her of Romuald's ill health, contains no reference to the Deity.²³⁴ Her letter to Helena, March 10, 1840, written after Romuald's death, tells of the celebration of the Mass, but contains no other Christian connotations of the Deity.²³⁵ Christian preparations for death, burial and prayers had been only *pro forma* observances among the faithful Frankists. The absence of Catholic expressions on such tragic occasions, when one may expect religious feelings of a truly genuine kind, can be interpreted as evidences of reversion to the secret background of the sectaries.

Wladyslaw Mickiewicz cautioned the readers of his work on his mother's life against possible attacks on her. Apologizing for the paucity of her extant letters, he stated that "the truth had to be hidden, her letters were not trusted, they were investigated and confiscated."²³⁶ The question may be posed whether letters containing more direct references to Celina's Frankist heritage had disappeared just like her diary.²³⁷

It is of significance that Mickiewicz's letters to his wife before his conversion to Towianism are also devoid of any religious references. There is no mention of the Deity, not to speak of the hope for intervention by Jesus, Mary, or the saints in his letters to Celina while she had been under treatment for insanity.²³⁸ Should

²³¹ Mickiewicz, "Mother," *PW*, (Aug. 1926), p. 149.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*, (Sept. 1926), p. 397; also cited in *Zywot*, vol. ii. p. 485.

²³⁴ Jan. 6, 1840, in "Mother," *PW* (Sept. 1926), p. 398.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 398-99.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, (Aug. 1926), pp. 145-46.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, (Sept. 1926), p. 401.

²³⁸ Sixteen extant letters of that period contain no references to the supernatural. Mickiewicz, *DW*, *PR*, vol. xi.

the absence of such references during her illness be traced to his fears lest they affect his wife's health at a stage of either reversion to Frankism or of a struggle between Towianism and Frankism.

Noteworthy is also the similar absence of Catholic terms in Tekla Wolowska's correspondence with Celina and other persons.²³⁹

Celina died a faithful Catholic. The Last Rites were administered to her on March 5, 1855. Mickiewicz expressed on several occasions his feelings that she had died "in a state full of blessing" and even with joy.²⁴⁰

There are certain circumstances about her death that bear on our subject and that I regret cannot be elucidated without more intensive research abroad. Of course, her acceptance of the sacraments had little or no significance from the Frankist point of view. It is interesting that her son Wladyslaw related that his father wanted to rest in the same grave with his mother's remains as long as his own burial would not be permitted in Polish soil. This may have been Wladyslaw's excuse for not having raised the issue at the time of the ceremonial transfer of his father's remains to the Royal Wawel Castle in Krakow. In contrast his mother's remains had been reinterred at Montmorency Cemetery in Paris.^{240*} The Jewish descent of Adam Mickiewicz could be denied or debated. However, his wife's origin was beyond debate. Was she therefore unworthy to share her husband's tomb?

Research on Frankism

The difficulties of establishing the facts about the continuity of Frankism in Poland are obvious in view of the deliberate destruction of documents and their "judicious" uses. Rumors, suspicions, innuendos—all types of clues have to be sifted for meager leads. Sometimes omissions, such as the absence of references to Christian religious aspects in the correspondence of the Szymanowska and other families, help to arrive at a judicious conclusion. The convincing case of Celina's cure has been solved thanks to the understanding of Towianist terminology.

Similar clues may well be found also in the literature and documents pertaining to less illustrious persons. Moreover, even the materials concerning personalities such as Mickiewicz and Szymanowska have not been fully studied for their Frankist implications, but rather on the basis of the contrary assumption, namely, that information that may shed light on these aspects deserves to be destroyed or buried. Destroyed documents cannot be resurrected. However, buried data can be dug out. There is a huge literature of printed and unpublished memoirs, both of the 19th and 20th centuries, which has not as yet been examined from this point of view. Family archives that had been closed before World War II have since been nationalized and should be available now for the researcher. I have only scratched the surface in this preliminary investigation.

The problem of the Frankists is most pertinent, not only to the history of the Jewish people, but also to that of racism. It is not by accident that the Nazi encyclopedia, *Sigilla Veri* had nothing to say about the Frankists.²⁴¹ Evidently

²³⁹ E.g., Letter to Celina, July, 12, 1839, "Mother," *PW*, (Aug. 1926), p. 173.

²⁴⁰ Letters to de Khlusun, Niewiarowicz and Wodpol, *DW, PR*, vol. xii, pp. 289, 292.

^{240*} Mickiewicz, *Pamiętniki*, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 302.

²⁴¹ *Sigilla Veri*. (Ph. Stauff's Semi-Kirchner); *Lexikon der Juden, Genossen und Gegner* . . . vol. ii, (Erfurt 1929), pp. 388-400.

the Nazi genealogists preferred to leave them alone, fearful that such revelations might embarrass many persons of importance.

The centennial of the Frankist blood libel accusation saw the renewal of this canard by a Dr. Czolowski in the *Lwow Dziennik Polski* (Polish Daily).²⁴² It was brought into use again in 1913 in connection with the Beilis trial.²⁴³

Polish antisemites of the 20th century saw an organic continuity between Frank's meanderings about world rule and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the deadly canard of Jewish world domination through both capitalism and communism. Among the chief propagators of this preparation for genocide were Father Stanislaw Trzeciak and Jędrzej Giertych. Father Trzeciak characterized Frankism as a "national political maneuver in the invasion of Poland." He described Frank who had been fought bitterly by the Jewish community as a "chacham" (rabbi) and emissary of the Jews. Frank's ritual murder accusations were viewed by Trzeciak as merely "a stratagem to obtain the confidence of the Poles." He saw a continuous plan for Jewish domination "beginning with Frank through the Wise Men of Zion until today's communists." To him the Bolshevik revolution was proof positive to the truth of Frank's predictions of the world's upheaval and reconstruction.²⁴⁴

Giertych presented all Polish revolutions as masonic Jewish plots. He portrayed Kosciuszko as an instrument of masonry and asserted that "Talmudist Jews" had financed Frank as part of the plot.²⁴⁵ Stanislaw Didier disregarded the distinction between the Frankists and earlier and later converts.²⁴⁶ H. Rolicki, a more careful historian, operated by innuendos and pointed questions, rather than by direct accusations.²⁴⁷ Ponisz went even further in his arguments that the children of assimilated or baptized Jews remain "atavistically" Asian Jews, with but a few exceptions. His solution called for complete isolation of the Jews in preparation for their exile from Poland. He sought support from Thomas Aquinas' teachings on the segregation of the Jews,²⁴⁸ an excuse given by the Vatican in 1941 for its indifference to the introduction of racism in Vichy France.²⁴⁹ Father

²⁴² Cf. Caro, Jecheskiel, "Die Frankisten und der Archivarius der Stadt Lemberg." *Ein Antwort ueber dessin Abhandlung ueber Ritualmord* (Lemberg s.a.).

²⁴³ Kuzmin, I. O., *Materjaly k' voprosu ob obvinienich Yevreev v ritualnykh postupleniach* (Materials on the Problem of the Accusations of Jews of Ritual Crimes) (St. Petersburg 1913), pp. 186-219. It is cited by Balaban in "Studien und Quellen zur Frankistischer Bewegung in Polen," *Sepher zikaron li-kvod ha-doctor Shmuel Abraham Poznanski* (Livre d'Homage a la memoire du Dr. Samuel Poznanski [1864-1920] . . .) (Warsaw 1927), p. 25.

²⁴⁴ *Mesjanizm i sprawa zydzowska* (Messianism and the Jewish Question) (Warsaw 1934), pp. 97-98, 332, 86.

²⁴⁵ *Tragizm losow Polski*, (The Tragedy of Poland's Fate) ed. 2 (Pelplin 1937), pp. 196, 69.

²⁴⁶ *Rola neofitow w dziejach Polski* (The Role of the Neophytes in Polish History) (Warsaw 1934), pp. 31-45.

²⁴⁷ *Zmierzch Izraela* (The Decline of Israel) (Warsaw 1933). A trenchant answer to this work is Imber, S. J., *Asy czystej rasy* (Aces of a Pure Race) (Krakow 1934), pp. 101-220.

²⁴⁸ Cf. note 57a (pp. 24-25, 37, 53-69, 72, 76). In the same anti-Frankist genre is Morawski, Marjan, *Zrodlo rozbiorow Polski* (The Source of Poland's Partitions) (Poznan 1935). Among other works dealing with the problem of converts in Poland that may pertain to our interest and which I had no opportunity to examine are Bialkowski, Leon, *Zyd o neofitach polskich* (A Jew About the Polish Neophytes) (Warsaw 1939); Korwin (Piotrowski), *Szlachta neoficka* (Neophyte Nobility) (Krakow 1939) and *idem*, *Szlachta mozeszowa* (Mosaic Nobility) (Krakow 1933).

²⁴⁹ Cf. Report of Leon Berard, French Ambassador to the Holy See, to Marshall Petain, September 2, 1941, *Le Monde Juif* (Paris October 1946), pp. 2-4; excerpts in Poliakov, Leon, *Harvest of Hate* (Syracuse 1954), pp. 299-301; and in my letter in *Jewish Chronicle* (London July 19, 1963); my *Jewish Community Relations* . . . (New York) 1952, pp. 54, 113.

Jozef Kruszyński, another harbinger of genocide, was restrained by his Catholic view on racism and by his conviction of the effective assimilation of the Frankists in Polish society from mentioning them in his books. He nevertheless followed the customary Nazi propaganda line of the Jewish plot for world domination.²⁵⁰

This marks quite a difference from 1898 when the great historian, Tadeusz Korzon, wrote in his review of Kraushar's *FFP* that Frank "justified the hope of his first protector, Dembowski, the Bishop of Kamieniec; he developed in time a large group of true Christians. And Poland is grateful for him for the refashioning of several tens of thousands of Jews into true Poles, even in the first, in the second, or third generations."²⁵¹

These are but a few examples of the treatment of the Frankists as an actual problem in inter-bellum Poland's antisemitic propaganda.

That period has also witnessed racist attacks on Poles of Frankist descent who have made great contributions to Polish life. A good example is the treatment of the composer Karol Szymanowski who had been forced to defend his music against the accusation of Jewish influence.²⁵² One may easily venture to predict that Frankism will continue to serve as an important weapon in the armory of antisemitism.

As early as 1835, Jozefat Bolesław Ostrowski in his attack on Czynski's defense of the Jews stated that their "separate nationality" had ordered them to "strive for world domination."^{252a} Taking into consideration Czynski's origin, the Frankist implication may not be too far-fetched. In view of the interest of officials of the Russian Ministry of the Interior in the Frankist movement and of their role in the promotion of the plot of the Elders of Zion,²⁵³ the Frankist experience as a basis for the concoction of that canard deserves serious consideration.

The anti-nomianism of the Polish Frankist movement, the bitterness of its struggle against normative Judaism, its irrevocable exit from the Jewish people—

²⁵⁰ *Rola światowa Żydostwa* (Jewry's World Role) (Włocławek 1923). Published by the General Bookstore and Printing House of the Diocese, the book "exposes" the "Jewish plot" for world conquest, involving the Alliance Universelle Israelite. It cites the appropriately fabricated appeals to the Red Army units. His book, *Antysemityzm, Antyjudaizm, Antygoizm* (Antisemitism, anti-Judaism, Anti-Goism) (Włocławek 1924) similarly published by the Diocesan Press, also omits the mention of the Frankists. It emphasizes, however, the charge of the international "Judaization" of western Christian culture and the need for an international solution of the Jewish problem.

²⁵¹ *Kwartalnik historyczny* (Historical quarterly) vol. xlv (1898), p. 430.

Earlier Wacław Aleksander Maciejowski held that Frank was not an impostor and that he had no reason for fearing the Inquisition. He viewed his role as that of bringing his followers into the Catholic Church and even defended him against the accusation of ostentation and luxury, describing such showing off as a Jewish characteristic. Cf. his *Żydzi w Polsce, na Rusi i Litwie . . .* (Jews in Poland, Ruthenia and Lithuania . . .) (Warsaw 1878), pp. 79-80. He cited Adrian Krzyżanowski's opinion in *Dawna Polska* (Ancient Poland) ed. 1. pp. 51-56 (not available here) that "the teaching confessed by the Frankist sect had been and continues to be the only effective instrument of reforming and changing the Polish, Ruthenian and Lithuanian Jews into a great mass worthy of the name of men." (*Op. cit.*, p. 79).

²⁵² *Nowa Polska*, part ii, nos. 26 and 27 (Paris May 3, 1835), pp. 341-45; my "GE," pp. 147-49.

^{252a} *Nowa Polska* (New Poland), pt. ii, nos. 26-27 (Paris May 3, 1835), pp. pp. 341-45; my "GE," pp. 147-49.

²⁵² *Z pism* (From Writings), ed. by Teresa Bronowicz-Chylińska (Kraków 1958), pp. 52-53, 57. The article in question relates to an attack in 1922-23.

²⁵³ Cf. notes 38, 169.

can also shed light on the modern secular anti-nomianisms of Jewish antisemites, escapists and assimilationists, whose false messiahs are political ideologies or philosophies of hedonism. Such movements and trends are very similar to the Frankist aberration and the astute observer should find no difficulties in establishing close parallels between the religious sectaries and the new haters of Zion and would-be liquidators of Judaism and of the Jewish people, both on the Right and the Left. This study in comparative history will have to be postponed for another occasion.